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GREGOROVIUS'
HISTORY OF THE CITY OF ROME
IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. V.—PART II.

GEORGE BELL AND SONS
LONDON: PORTUGAL ST., LINCOLN'S INN
CAMBRIDGE: DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO.
NEW YORK: THE MACMILLAN CO.
BOMBAY: A. H. WHEELER AND CO.

HISTORY

OF

THE CITY OF ROME

IN THE

MIDDLE AGES

BY

FERDINAND GREGOROVIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE FOURTH GERMAN EDITION

BY

ANNIE HAMILTON

VOL. V.—PART II

(A.D. 1260–1305)

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

LONDON

GEORGE BELL & SONS

1906

First published, January 1898
Second Edition, revised, 1906

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Exhausted by the Italian wars, Germany had fallen into a state of internal disruption and weakness, from which the ancient empire was never to recover. After the fall of William of Holland in the war against Friesland (on January 28, 1256), the German crown, scorned by the disunited princes, was sold to the highest bidder. The enfeebled sense of nationality tolerated the elevation of two foreign princes, Richard of Cornwall and Alfonso of Castile, to the throne of mighty emperors. So general was the exhaustion, that the two-fold election, which once more made the popes arbitrators in Germany, did not entail any strife. These foreign kings unhesitatingly recognised the Pope's authority as judge over the empire; the depth of whose decay they themselves, seated like phantoms upon its ruins, merely served to depict.[1]

[1] Richard, elected in Frankfort on January 13, 1257, and crowned

More fortunate was Manfred in Sicily, upon whose soil no papal mercenary now remained. He strove to attain the crown, and succeeded in his object. On the report—apparently purposely spread and adroitly utilised—of the death of Conradin, he had himself crowned king in Palermo, on August 10, 1258. If this step was a manifest usurpation of the rights of the heir, it was nevertheless demanded by the voice of the country and was required and justified by circumstances. It found a precedent in the case of Philip of Swabia, who, likewise the guardian of his nephew, had become the usurper of his crown. To Conradin's envoys, who came to protest, Manfred explained, with good reason, that it was impossible for a child living in distant Germany to maintain rule over Sicily; that the country could only obey the government of a native prince; that he was by birth and manners an Italian; that he desired to rule as lawful monarch the kingdom which he had defended against two popes; and that Conradin might succeed him on his death. Manfred's coronation rendered him for ever an enemy of the claims of the legitimate Hohenstaufens to Sicily, and forced him to keep them at a distance from the Italian frontier and to represent the national principle of Italy. The political alliance of this

Manfred crowned King, Aug. 10, 1258.

at Aachen on May 17, came several times to Germany; Alfonso, elected at Frankfort on April 1, 1257, never came. The reports in Raynald, *ad A.* 1263, more especially n. 46 and 53, give but a faint reminiscence of the deliberation of Innocent III. A. Busson, *Die Doppelwahl des Jahres* 1257 *und das röm. Königtum Alfons X. v. Castilien*, Münster, 1866.

country with Germany was consequently abolished, and a condition of affairs established such as the Guelfs had attempted to create.

Now that Manfred, from having been Conradin's representative became his enemy, and from a vicar of Germany was transformed into a national Italian ruler, prudence may have counselled Alexander IV. to recognise him under favourable conditions as a vassal king of the Church, just as formerly a pope had recognised the Norman Roger when raised to the throne of Sicily. Manfred, however, would be no vassal prince, but an independent monarch, and the consequence of his coronation was that it was declared null by the Pope, and evoked a fresh excommunication and the threat of the interdict on all bishops and cities that acknowledged him. The hatred of the papal Curia towards all Frederick's race remained inextinguishable. The Curia suspected, and with reason, that Manfred would ever remain hostile to the pretensions of the Pope, and would not rest until he had acquired the kingdom of Italy and the imperial crown.

The Pope excommunicates Manfred.

The chances of reconciliation, which had been frequently attempted, were shattered by the demand of the Pope for the removal of the Saracens from Italy. The survival of the colony of Mohammedans in Apulia recalls the history of the times when the Arabs, seated in their brigand fortresses on the Garigliano, had struck terror into Italy. Frederick II. had transplanted their Sicilian compatriots to Luceria as a camp of skilled archers, ever ready to take the field. The mendicant monks, whom

The Saracens of Luceria.

Gregory IX. had repeatedly sent, failed to convert the unbelievers; the name of Allah was still shouted from the towers, and the Koran still explained by the learned in the Arab scriptures in the mosques. Frederick had chosen Saracens for his guards, and many Moslems had been impartially appointed to high offices. These Mohammedans owed their existence to the indulgence of the Hohenstaufens and remained faithful to the house. Even if the statement of the English chronicler, which estimates their numbers at 60,000 fighting men, be an exaggeration, they were at any rate sufficiently numerous to inspire the Pope with dismay.[1] In the wars between the Hohenstaufens and the Church they formed the sole standing army, the most zealous soldiers and the ruthless destroyers of their enemies. Invulnerable to excommunications, they strangled priests and mendicant monks, burnt churches and convents without scruple of conscience, and destroyed conquered cities, such as Albano and Sora under Frederick II., such as Ariano under Manfred. Their colonies in South Italy remained a thorn in the side of the Pope. Alexander IV. demanded their removal, but Manfred had nothing beyond their fidelity to rely on, and to their bows and arrows owed his first success. He protected them, and like his father constantly summoned fresh hordes of Arabs, who came from the coasts of Africa to take pay under his banner. The popes consequently represented him as the sultan and ally of the Pagan,

[1] Matt. Paris (p. 897). Saracens and Germans called each other gossips, *compatres*. Nicol. de Jamsilla, Murat., viii. 562.

and their crusades were constantly directed against Manfred and the Saracens of Luceria.

His coronation accomplished, he entered on a new period of his career. He speedily acquired influence in North and Central Italy; his power attained larger proportions. He was occupied by the thought of uniting Italy under his sceptre as a national king, although the execution of the scheme presented unforeseen difficulties. His breach with Conradin and Germany drew the Guelfs to his side; he had joined the league which had been formed for the overthrow of Ezzelino; he concluded treaties with Venice and Genoa. But it was soon shown that the Guelf party was no longer the truly national party, for it stood in alliance with the same Papacy that bartered Italy away to foreign princes. The treachery of the popes to the country increased the national feeling of all patriotic Italians, and for a time Manfred was the man long hoped for by Italy. He even ventured to aim at the imperial crown, the goal of all his hopes. Perceiving that reconciliation with the Pope was impossible, he resumed the traditions of his house and joined the Ghibellines in fighting against the State of the Church. He appointed Uberto Palavicini, head of the Ghibellines in North Italy, as his captain in Lombardy, the Genoese Parcival Doria as his vicar in Spoleto and the Marches, and Jordan of Anglano, Count of S. Severino, his relative, as vicar of Tuscany.[1] This territory, where Siena

Manfred's power in Italy.

[1] The *Libri Deliberation.* (Archives of Siena, vol. ix.) observe, on December 1, 1259, that Jordan had entered Siena. On January 19, 1260, he signs himself *Jordanus de Anglano dei et regia gra. Comes S.*

remained the Ghibelline centre, did homage to Manfred, as its protector and overlord, after the battle of Monteaperto. The Siennese formed an alliance with the Ghibellines, who had been banished from Florence, under their great head Farinata degli Uberti, and, supported by Germans under Jordan of Anglano, annihilated the allies on the banks of the Arbia, on September 4, 1260. The powerful city of Florence opened her gates to the Ghibellines and did homage to Count Jordan as Manfred's representative: an event of the gravest consequence! It diminished the authority of the Pope; it shattered the Guelf party, but it made the Guelfs for ever the enemy of the King; it also riveted this King fast to the Ghibellines, into whose arms he now threw himself. It destroyed the possibility of peace with the Church, who in her distress summoned a foreign

Victory of the Ghibellines on the Arbia, Sept. 4, 1260.

Severini, Regius in Tuscia Vicarius Gener. et Potestas Senarum . . . dat. Pistojæ XVIII. Jan. Ind. IV. (*Kaleffo veechio*, n. 623). Recanati, Jesi, and Cingoli rebelled against Anibaldo Trasmundi, Rector of the March, and formed a league against him on December 20, 1259 (n. 44 in Baldassini, *Memor. di Jesi*). As early as 1258 Parcival was vicar-general there. From Jesi he confirmed Gubbio in possession of its district and county, in its jurisdiction and in the election of its podestà: *Parcival de Auria Marchie Ancon. ducatus Spoleti et Romaniol. regius vicarius gen. pop. et communi Agubii dni Regis fidelib. . . . Dat. Esii A.D.* 1259 *septimo Martii II. Ind. Regnante seren. D.N. Rege Manfredo dei grā inclito rege sicilie. R. ejus A.I.* Communal Archives of Gubbio (*ex libro Privileg.*, fol. 19). Fermo also did homage to Manfred. Perugia remained Guelf. On January 11, 1259, Alexander IV. wrote from Anagni to Perugia begging for aid against Manfred, who was overrunning Spoleto and the Marches (Archives of Perugia, *Bolle, Brevi.*, vol. ii. n. 22). On December 28, 1258, Alexander from Viterbo had ceded the county of Gubbio to Perugia (*Lib. Sommiss.*, vol. c. fol. 68).

despot to her aid, but it temporarily created a new basis of power for Manfred in Central Italy, whence he could harass the Pope, and keep the State of the Church in commotion even to the very gates of Rome.[1]

The Florentine Guelfs summon Conradin.

The Guelfs of Florence and of other cities threw themselves in their consternation into Lucca, their last stronghold. They even turned (so curious were the changes of parties!) to Germany and summoned Conradin to descend and snatch the crown from the usurper, and to restore again the rights of the empire. The last descendant of Frederick II., a child of eight, made answer through his uncle Lewis of Bavaria; took Florence and the Guelf league under his impotent protection; declared Manfred and the Ghibellines his enemies, and promised soon to come in person to Italy, or, if the German princes permitted, to send his legates thither.[2] Alexander IV.

[1] Archives of Siena: June 15, 1256, alliance between Siena and Rome, registered as n. 646, but not forthcoming in the original. On December 4, 1256, Pietro de Neri, Syndic of Rome, and Aldobrandino di Ugo, Syndic of Siena, abolish reprisals: *Act. Rome ap. Eccl. S. Marie Monasterii de Rosa* (n. 661). In May 1259, Manfred takes Siena under his protection: *dat. Luceriæ per man. Gualterii de Ocra regnor. Jer. et Sicil. Cancellarii A.D. Inc.* 1259. *M. Medii Ind. II.* (*Kaleffo novo Assunt.*, fol. 611). On May 17, 1259, declaration was made to Siena, that in the oath of fidelity taken to Manfred, the freedom of the Church and the validity of contracts were reserved intact: *Act. in regno Apulie ap. Noceram. In palatio memorati Ill. Regis. a. D.* 1259. *Ind. II. die XVI. Kal. Junii. Coram D. Comite Manfredo Malecta de Mineo Camerario Ill. Regis præf., D. Comite Bartholomeo Seneschalcho, D. Goffredo de Chusença, Magro. Johe. de Procida, D. Francescho Semplice et Magistro Petro de la prete. . . .*

[2] Letter of the Guelfs and Conradin's answer: *Cod. Vat.*, 4957,

meanwhile, profoundly dismayed by the fall of Florence, excommunicated Siena and the Ghibellines, cited them to appear before his tribunal and implored Pisa to abandon the league with Manfred. But Florence, which was now Ghibelline, Pisa, Siena, and several other cities, formed on March 28, 1261, an alliance offensive and defensive against all Guelfs and their adherents. And thus the ancient Tuscan league fell under Manfred's authority.[1] The Umbrian league, however, headed by the Guelf city of Perugia, remained faithful to the Church and hindered his progress.

Tuscan league of the Ghibellines, March 28, 1261.

Alexander IV., overcome by grief, soon afterwards died on May 25, 1261, at Viterbo, whither, after a long sojourn in Anagni and a hurried visit to unsettled Rome, he had gone a short time before.[2]

Death of Alexander IV., May 25, 1261.

The eight cardinals (the sacred college at this time consisted of no more than this number) assembled for the new election at Viterbo. Their votes wavered for two or three months, until, on

fol. 83, 85. *Conradus II. dei gr. Jerlm. et Sicilie Rex, dux Suevie devotis suis dilect. viris nobilib. Maynardo comiti de Panicho dei gr. potestati partis Guelvorum de Florentia et aliis Tusciæ terris, et comiti Guidoni Guerræ ead. gr. Tuscie palatino et universitati dicte partis gratiam suam cum affectu sincero . . . act. ap. Illuminestri a. D.* 1261, *VIII. Id. Maji.*

[1] League between Florence, Pisa, Siena, Pistoja, Volterra, S. Miniato, Poggibonzi, Prato, Colle, S. Gemignano against Lucca and the Florentine Guelfs, concluded in Siena on March 28, 1261. Fine parchment in the Archives of Siena, n. 739. Alexander IV.'s bull of excommunication from S. Peter's, November 18, 1260: *Cod. Vat.*, 4957, fol. 86.

[2] On July 4, 1261, the cardinals wrote from Viterbo to Perugia, demanding aid against Manfred: *Arch. Stor.*, xvi. p. ii. 486.

August 29, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who was accidentally present, was elected Pope. Jacopo Pantaleone, the son of a shoemaker of Troyes, was a prelate who owed his rise in the Church to talent and good fortune. The fact that a Frenchman ascended the sacred chair heralded new political relations, through which the Papacy, to its misfortune, forsook the national path and threw itself into the arms of the French monarchy. The aim of the popes, that of overthrowing the last Hohenstaufen in Italy, was the basis of the close alliance with France, an object which was attained at an incalculably high price.

Urban IV., Pope, 1261–1264.

Pantaleone, crowned as Urban IV. in Viterbo on September 4, 1261, cherished with the ardour of a personal enemy the hatred transmitted by his predecessors towards the "viper-brood" of Frederick II. He did not go to Rome; nor did he ever enter the Lateran.[1]

[1] When the Germans wished to elect Conradin king, they were forbidden under penalty of excommunication. Letter to the Bohemians, Viterbo, June 3, 1262, in Raynald, n. v.: *Nos considerantes, quod in hoc pravo genere, patrum in filios cum sanguine derivata malitia, sicut carnis propagatione, sic imitatione operum nati genitorib. successerunt.*

2. Fighting in Rome concerning the Senatorial Election—John Savelli and Anibaldo Anibaldi, Senators, 1261—The Guelfs put forward Richard of Cornwall, the Ghibellines Manfred as Senator — Charles of Anjou, Candidate for the Senatorship—Urban IV. confers Sicily upon him—Negotiations concerning the Senate—Gaucelin and Cantelmi, first Prosenators of Charles—War between the Guelfs and Ghibellines in Roman Tuscany—Peter of Vico—Manfred's projects against Rome shattered — Peter of Vico driven from Rome — Death of Urban IV., 1264.

John de Sabello and Anibaldo Anibaldi, Senators, 1261.

A dispute concerning the senatorial election was being waged at this time. To Napoleon Orsini and Richard Anibaldi had succeeded John Savelli and Anibaldo Anibaldi, a nephew of Alexander IV., and the election which followed their retirement from office at Easter 1261 was attended by so violent a contest that the Pope was driven to Viterbo.[1] Guelfs and Ghibellines severed Rome into such hostile factions, that the division of parties remained permanent in the city. Even before the death of Alexander (an Englishman, John, Cardinal of San Lorenzo, having previously purchased the votes of the Guelfs) they elected Richard of Cornwall, already

[1] A letter of Alexander's, Anagni, April 3, A. vi. (1261), in Contatore, *Terracina*, p. 69 : *dil. filiis nobilib. viris Joanni de Sabello et Anibaldo Nepoti nostro, et consilio urbis*, in which he calls both *Senatores*, makes their tenure of the office undoubted.

crowned King of the Romans, as Senator for life. Their adversaries, on the other hand, proclaimed Manfred. It was the first time that the Romans conferred their jealously guarded senatorial power on a foreign king, a testimony to the decay of the democratic feeling among them. The spirit of freedom had taken leave of Rome with Brancaleone; that noble man had been the last true republican on the Capitol. In other communes also the feeling of independence and the grandeur of all the civic virtues which independence inspires were decaying at this time: the heroic power with which the struggle for freedom against the Hohenstaufens had invested them disappeared with the danger from outside; the exhausted communes vacillated between plebeian rule and tyranny, and openly approached the monarchic principle.

King Manfred Senator, 1271.

While the Romans, too weak to assert their rights against the Pope, elected princes as their senators, they were of opinion that a royal senator would more effectively defend their liberty against the claims of the sacred chair than any other podestà would be able to do. Manfred encouraged their hopes in disputing the jurisdiction of the Pope over the empire, which the two other pretenders to the crown had willingly acknowledged.

The talented King stood at the summit of fortune, whose transient favour he enjoyed in the midst of his gay and gifted court in Sicily or Apulia. His influence extended as far as Piedmont. Powerful monarchs were friendly towards him. After the death of his wife Beatrix, he married (in June 1259)

Helena, daughter of Michael Angelus Ducas, Despot of Epirus, and in 1262 his daughter Constance became the wife of Peter of Aragon, son of King James, in spite of the opposition of the Pope, who appeared to have some prevision of the Nemesis which would arise from this union to avenge the fall of the Hohenstaufens.[1] His election as Senator was necessarily of the highest importance to Manfred. What could be more desirable than to know that Rome was in his power as well as all the cities of Tuscany? Guelfs and Ghibellines here fought for Richard or Manfred, while the Pope strove to set aside both pretenders,[2] and Urban IV. actually succeeded in appeasing party strife. Quiet seemed restored within the city; for the populace had entrusted the government to the hands of some confidential persons, whom they empowered with the faculty of definitively electing a senator. This committee of conservatori of the republic remained for more than a year at the head of the civic government.[3] But when the people wished to put an end to this provisional government and to bestow the

[1] Letter of Urban to Aragon, Viterbo, April 26, 1262, Raynald, n. 9. On June 13, 1262, Peter announced his betrothal to Constance at Montpellier. Böhmer, n. 281.

[2] Rymer (fol. 410, A. 1261) quotes the letter of Cardinal John of Toledo to the King of England, in which he writes that he had spent his property to procure Richard's election as Senator.

[3] Urban IV. wrote to the notary Albert from Orvieto, August 11, 1263: *intelleximus, quod illi boni homines, qui urbem ad præsens regere, ipsius statum reformare dicuntur, dilectum fil. nob. vir. Carolum—in Senatorem ipsius urbis vel Dominum elegerunt.* Martene, *Thesaur. nov.*, ii.; Urbani, Ep., n. 12.

senatorial office on either Richard or Manfred, the two factions again rose in civil war. A moderate party proposed to elect Peter of Aragon, Manfred's son-in-law, and the Guelfs renounced the absent Richard, in order to vote for Charles of Anjou who was at hand.

The election of the French prince attained a historic importance. For Urban was already engaged in negotiations, with the object of conferring upon him the crown of Sicily. This kingdom, or rather the Sicilian nation, to whom the popes talked so much of freedom and independence, had for years been treated by them as a characterless people and offered to the least exacting candidate. Henry III. of England had accepted the offer for his son. It consequently appeared possible that after the fall of their dynasty, the Normans might return to Sicily by a circuitous route through England. But incessant wars with the barons of his kingdom, whose constitution he had violated, the refusal of the English Church to allow itself to be any further taxed, the distance and uncertainty of the enterprise, prevented the fulfilment of Henry's promises. The young Edmund remained in Britain, a king merely on paper, and did not disturb the peace of Manfred. Urban IV. consequently resolved to place another pretender in the field, a prince from strictly Catholic France, renowned in war. This was Charles, the youngest brother of Lewis IX., Count of Anjou and Maine, Lord of Provence and of Forcalquier, both of which territories he had acquired on her father's death as the dowry of Beatrix, daughter of Raymond

Berengar IV., last Count of Provence.[1] Innocent IV. had already bestowed Sicily upon Charles, but the transaction was rendered futile by the opposition of France. The scheme was revived by the Frenchman Urban IV., when, in consequence of the battle on the Arbia, Manfred's power waxed dangerously formidable. In 1262 the Pope sent an agent to France, and Charles eagerly grasped at the crown which was offered him. His own desire and his wife's ambition goaded him on. Beatrix could not endure to remain in a position inferior to her three sisters, who were all queens, Margaret being the wife of Lewis IX., Eleanor that of Henry III., while Sancia was married to Richard of Cornwall. That Saint Lewis refused his sanction to the conquest of Sicily by his brother, because his conquest violated the rights of others, redounds to his honour. His objections were, however, overruled by the Pope, who represented that the possession of Sicily was the key to the East.

Urban IV. offers the crown of Sicily to Charles of Anjou, 1262.

On June 28, 1263, Urban IV. explained that the treaty with Edmund had expired. True, Henry III. refused to renounce his claims on Sicily, for which England had vainly sacrificed her wealth; but the king, as also Richard of Cornwall, was at the time a prisoner in the hands of Simon, Count of Leicester and Montfort. He finally acquiesced in the renunciation. Urban negotiated with Charles concerning the conditions of the feudal investiture, while the count, unknown to the Pope, caused

[1] Raymund Berengar IV. died on August 19, 1245, and Charles married his heiress on January 19, 1246. Papon, *Histoire générale de Provence*, ii. 524.

himself to be elected Senator in Rome. The election took place in the beginning of August 1263.[1] If the Italians blame Urban IV. for having brought a foreign dynasty into Italy, the accusation redounds with greater justice on the entire Guelf party in their own country, for that party had forsaken the national principle. The Guelfs and the popes, in whose narrowed intelligence the great spirit of Alexander and of Innocent III. no longer survived, again opened Italy to a foreign master. He came full of eagerness, and with his victory the national idea expired, and the grandeur of the ancient Papacy set.

The Guelfs in Rome elect Charles of Anjou Senator, 1263.

The Romans, moreover, so little respected the right of their absent Pope, that they either did not inform Urban of the election of their new Senator at all, or only did so after the intelligence had long previously reached him.[2] He dwelt in Orvieto and was on bad terms with the Romans. The bankers in the city were still creditors to the Church for large

[1] The first proposals to Charles were made from Orvieto, June 17, 1263 (Martene, *Nov. Thes.*, ii., Ep. 7). Not until June 1265 did Henry III. entirely renounce his claims (Rymer, 457). Charles's election as Senator took place before August 11, 1263. St. Priest (ii., App., p. 330) quotes, from the *Livre du Trésor de Brunetto Latini*, a letter of the Romans written in French, in which Charles is offered the office of Senator, with a revenue of 10,000 lire, for a year beginning on November 1. The form and contents of this document are suspicious.

[2] On August 11 he did not know whether Charles had been elected for his lifetime or only for a year. See the above letter, in which the Pope says that Richard had previously been elected by the Romans *vita sua*; this was consequently also the case with Charles, as Ep. xv., Urbani in Martene, shows.

sums, which, encumbered with debts as she was, she was unable to repay ; and had Urban shown himself in the Lateran, he would have been persecuted at the same time by swarms of creditors and by angry Ghibellines. He no longer possessed any actual civil power in Rome, and since the time of Brancaleone the sacred chair had even lost the investiture of senatorship. The unexpected election of Charles as Senator now fell in the midst of the negotiations concerning the investiture of Sicily, and filled Urban with dismay. The future alliance of the senatorial power with the crown of Sicily in the person of an ambitious prince threatened the independence of the Pope with serious danger. He feared to fall from Scylla into Charybdis, from the yoke of the Swabians under the tyranny of the Provençals ; in short, the sovereignty of Rome was at stake.[1]

Among the first conditions which were made with the Count of Anjou with regard to Sicily, was inserted the article that neither in Rome nor anywhere in the State of the Church should he accept the authority of a senator or podestà.[2] Urban, however, found himself forced to modify the compact, and even urgently to advise Charles to accept the senatorial dignity. Should Charles refuse it, it would probably fall to Manfred's son-in-law, which would have hindered the conquest of the kingdom, while the possession of Rome was for Charles the first and

[1] *Nos, qui nullum principem preter Rom. Pont., si vel prosperitas arrideret, vel saltem levior urgeret calamitas, dominari vellemus in urbe.* Ep. xxi., Orvieto, April 1264. *Ne dum Scillam vitare cupimus, in Charybdis voraginem incidamus ;* Ep. xv.

[2] Ep. vii., Orvieto, June 17, 1263.

surest step to its acquisition. After long deliberations with the cardinals, Urban charged his legate to represent the case to the count, but to forbid him to accept the office of Senator for life. He commanded the legate to employ diplomatic artifices, which proved the Pope to be a man who trifled with oaths. If Charles had sworn to the Romans that he would accept the office for life, the legate was to release him from the oath, and secretly to bind him by another promising that he would only hold the office temporarily and according to the will of the Pope.[1] The limitation of the term of office appeared so important to the Pope, that he even made the investiture of Sicily dependent upon it. He sent one of the most experienced of the cardinals, Simon of S. Cecilia, to France, gave him two different forms of treaties, and instructed him to induce Charles to sign the less dangerous of the two. According to the first the count was to accept the senatorship for five years; should he conquer Sicily within the time, he was immediately to renounce the office, under penalty of the ban and of the loss of all his rights to the kingdom. According to the second, he was to promise the Romans to accept the office only for such time as was agreeable to himself, and then swear to the Pope to remain Senator for five years

Negotiations between the Pope and Charles of Anjou concerning the senatorship.

[1] Letter to Albert of August 11: *Ipse tibi—secrete corporale exhibeat juram. . . . Nos enim tibi absolvendi eum nostra auct. a juramento, si quod Communi—Urbis—de retinendo—regimine vita sua idem jam præstitit, vel eum forsan præstare contigeret, plenam—concedimus—facultatem.* The Pope urged, in extenuation of his conduct in playing with oaths, consideration for Richard, whose previous election as Senator for life he had likewise prevented.

at most, or for so long a time as should be determined. Should the Romans insist on a life-long tenure of office, he was to promise that after the conquest of Sicily, or if this were recognised as impossible, that as soon as the Pope desired it, he would lay the senatorship in his hands; that in any case he would take care that the sovereignty should return to the sacred chair.[1] In case Charles refused to solemnly guarantee the rights of the Church over the Senate, the papal instructions commanded the legate to break off the negotiations concerning Sicily and to return home.[2]

Urban's embarrassment was grave. Sicily, equally fatal to emperors and popes, had since the days of Leo IX. involved the Church in frequent humiliations and painful anxieties. The dominion of their country, in which the popes saw the foundation of their temporal independence, was the source of terrible wars with the empire, and they themselves had been forced to confess that they coveted a political dominion, although they had not the energy to maintain this dominion for a single year. It was a lament, coming from the depths of his soul, that Urban IV. uttered, when he exclaimed, "Jeremiah

[1] *Tertio promittet, quod in dimissione Senatus dabit operam—ut idem Senatus ad ordinat. Rom. Pont. et Eccl. revertatur, cives scil. Romanos ad hoc, sicut melius, et honestius poterit, inducendo.* These formulæ found in Ep. xv. and xxi. have been frequently printed, as *diffinitio inter fratres de Senatu et Regno Sicilie.*

[2] Ep. xv. and xxi. The instruction commands the cardinal *nec se nimis exhibeat facilem ad assensum, sed cum deliberatione morosa stet pro utilitate ecclesiæ.* See also Urban's letter to the King of France and to Charles, May 3, 1263, Thein., i. 300, 301.

said that all evil would come from the North, but I see for us it comes from Sicily."[1] Meanwhile he had adroitly involved the transactions regarding the senatorship with the investiture of his kingdom, a step that obliged Charles to renounce the life-long term of office, and, on the representations of the King of France, to submit to Urban's conditions.

From the Pope's letters it is evident that the Romans and Charles left him in the dark with regard to their own transactions. The Roman Guelfs had actually made the Count Dominus and Signor of the city for life. The squandering of their freedom on the unknown, and, so far as they were concerned, undeserving, master excited the contempt of even such contemporaries as cherished Guelf sympathies; for the act was a proof that Rome henceforth was unworthy of freedom.[2]

After the Count of Anjou had accepted the proposals of Cardinal Simon and had promised to come to Rome at Michaelmas 1264, he sent Jacopo Gaucelin as his vicar in the Senate with some Provençal knights to the city. Gaucelin took possession of the Capitoline fortress in Charles's name in the beginning of May 1264, but died soon afterwards and was succeeded in the office of prosenator

Jacopo Gaucelin in Rome as vicar of Charles of Anjou, May 1264.

[1] See the instructions (cited above) of April 25, 1264 (Ep. xxi.).

[2] *Pop. urbis, quem ex hoc in illud exilis quandoque versat occasio, quique frequenter consuevit, illius modicæ libertatis reliquias, quas in eum proscripta veterum transfudit auctoritas, prodigaliter ac impudice distrahere—Provinciæ comitem elegerunt in Dominum, et Senatorem urbis perpetuum vocarunt*, are the significant words of Saba Malaspina (Murat., viii. 808).

by Jacopo Cantelmi.[1] The French prince then first entered the Capitol as a pretender against Manfred, in order to oust him from the throne of Sicily.

Manfred had repeatedly endeavoured to renew negotiations with Urban, and now saw with concern that a foreign rival, summoned by the Pope, had obtained a secure footing in Rome. The Ghibellines had been expelled from the city before the arrival of Charles's vicar. They assembled in Tuscany around the Proconsul Peter of Vico, a powerful magnate in the territory of the Prefect, Manfred's most zealous adherent and his vicar in the Senate.[2] The Guelfs on their side ranged themselves under the banner of Pandulf, Count of Anguillara, beside the lake of Bracciano.[3] The two parties met in daily conflict

[1] The names Gautelin and Gantelmi being easily confused, it might appear that one and the same person was spoken of, did not Saba tell us that the former died in a short time, whereupon Cantelmi was sent in his place. The *Desc. Victor.* is only acquainted with Gaucelin. On September 30, 1265, Charles recommends a certain Gautelin of Montegario to the seneschal of Provence; from which I prove the existence of the name. (Del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl. di Carlo I.*, n. 18.) As early as May 30, 1264, Urban speaks of Jacob. Gantelimus as vicar (Theiner, i. n. 304); likewise on July 17, 1264 (Ep. lvi. in Martene). Jacopo and Bertrand Cantelmi came with Charles to Naples from Provence. Jacopo received Sora in 1269 (Summonte, *Stor. di Napoli*, ii. 249). Rustain was his son. The family flourished as Counts of Bovino, and after 1457 as Dukes of Sora (Pietro Vincenti, *Hist. della fam. Cantelmi*, Naples, 604).

[2] Concerning Peter of Vico see *Vita Metrica Urbani*, Mur., viii. 405. He also bore the title of City Prefect. Manfred had appointed one of his sons Bishop of Cosenza. On March 28, 1264, the Pope commanded the Bishop of Bethlehem, his vicar in Rome, to preach the crusade against Manfred and Peter. Califfe, "I Prefetti di Vico" (*Arch. Società Rom.*, x., 1887, 450).

[3] The name Anguillara is derived from a villa of *Rutilia Polla* on

concerning the Tuscan fortresses. Peter of Vico, to whom Jordan of Anglano had sent troops, was even able to conquer the town of Sutri, from which he was driven again by Charles's vicar, Cantelmi. The prosenator besieged him in the castle of Vico at the end of May; but dissensions and fear of relief through Manfred checked him; the Roman troops consequently returned to the city in the beginning of June 1264, and Peter was thus released.[1] As Manfred was now certain that Charles of Anjou would speedily appear on the scene of action, he resolved to advance against Rome, and in concert with the Ghibellines to risk a blow against the Pope in Orvieto. From the Marches, from Tuscany, from Campania, where he himself lay encamped on the Liris, a great expedi-

Vico and Pandulf of Anguillara.

the headland by the Sabatine lake: Tomassetti (*Arch. di Soc. Romana*, v. 88 f.). A family, which formed part of the house of Orsini in *sæc.* xiv., took its name from Anguillara. It is first mentioned in *sæc.* xi.: *Guido ill. comes fil. Belizonis qui appellatur de Anguillaria* let the fishing in the *lacus Sabatinus* in the eighth year of Benedict VIII. and the seventh of Henry III. (Archives of S. Maria in Trastevere, *Msc. Vat.*, 8044). A volume of parchments relating to the Anguillara-Orsini is preserved in the Archives of the Capitol. The first document contained among them is a (spurious) privilegium of Henry VI. for Leo de A., whom he invests with Sutri, *dat. Esine V. Kal. Dcbris*, 1186. In 1244 a document of Frederick II. is signed by *Petrus alme urbis præf., comes de A.* (*Hist. Dipl.*, vi. i. 166). A tower belonging to this family still stands in the Trastevere. Camillo Massimi, *Sulla Torre Anguillara in Trastevere* (Rome, 1847).

[1] Letters of the Pope to Cardinal Simon, Ep. lv., Orvieto, July 19, 1264, and Ep. lvi., July 17: *Rom. Populo de ipsius castri obsidione consueta inconstantia recedente.* The prosenator lay before Vico on May 30. For Urban's commendation is addressed to him there: *dil. fil. nob. viro Iacobo Gantelimi Vicario in urbe dil. filii Caroli . . . dat. Orvieto, 3 Kal. Junii a. III.* (Theiner i. n. 304.)

tion was to be undertaken against the State of the Church. But his powers had for some time been crippled by misfortune. The hope that he might still be able to make terms with the Pope from the beginning weakened his activity, and, in spite of favourable conditions in Tuscany, where even Lucca opened her gates to the Ghibellines, his actions lacked unity and vigour. Instead of boldly forcing his way to Rome, he abandoned his march when the Roman Campagna refused him a passage. Latium was in favour of the Guelfs; the Pope had given all barons and bishops there orders to bar their territories; no fortress was to be bestowed on any but a native of the country; no marriage was to be contracted between inhabitants of the Campagna and subjects of the King.[1] Manfred returned to Apulia in the summer. True, he sent his captain, Parcival Doria, with troops to the relief of Vico and against Rome; true that Parcival forced his way through the Abruzzi into Roman territory; but the general could neither conquer Tivoli, which was now obedient to Rome, nor venture on a projected enterprise against the city. He was unfortunately drowned in the waters of the Nera near Rieti, and the Pope was thus delivered from imminent danger.

Manfred driven back from Latium.

Death of Parcival Doria.

Urban's position became daily more precarious; the league between Narni, Perugia, Todi, Assisi, and

[1] The orders of the Pope, Theiner, i. n. 289, 293. On March 2, 1264, Urban forbade the inhabitants of Terracina to take pay under Manfred, under penalty of having their houses pulled down and their property confiscated. The order applied to all the inhabitants of Latium. (Contatori.)

Spoleto refused him aid;[1] his coffers were empty; he demanded tithes from the churches of Christendom, and only with difficulty collected troops; he stationed 200 mercenaries in the fortress on the Capitol, placed a little army under Marshal Boniface of Canossa in the district of Spoleto, and caused the Crusade to be preached in every country against Manfred and the Saracens. He implored Charles to hasten his arrival, and warned him of assassins who were sent against him by Manfred.[2]

The fact that Rome remained at this time in the power of the Guelfs decided the entire future. It was Manfred's greatest misfortune that he could not encounter his enemy. The city was now the meeting place for all his foes, especially for the Apulian exiles who hoped for restoration and revenge. An attempt must be made to deprive the Guelfs of Rome before Charles's arrival, and a plan was concerted with this object. Tivoli, indeed, would not receive the Ghibellines, but Ostia, where Charles's landing might be averted, fell into the power of Richard of the house of Anibaldi.[3] This powerful family was Ghibelline, with the exception of the cardinal of the name, who had been the foremost

[1] This alliance was concluded at Perugia, February 28, 1251. L. Fumi, *Cod. Dipl. di Orvieto* (1884), p. 191.

[2] Ep. lvii., Orvieto, September 4, 1264: Manfred had sent an apostate of the order of S. James, and two assassins, *cum quinguaginta generibus venenorum*—no mean druggist's establishment.

[3] The Pope issued briefs concerning this occupation of Ostia on February 15, 1264, and on March 3 even wrote to Anibaldi himself: *nob. viro Ricardo Petri Anibaldi civ. Ro.* (O. Posse, *Analecta Vaticana*, Innsbruck, 1878, vi. 342, 359).

agent in promoting Charles's election. A victory of Peter of Vico, who, in conjunction with Manfred's captain, Francis of Treviso, had taken prisoner the Count of Anguillara near Vetralla, encouraged the Ghibelline exiles, who now hoped to enter Rome by a night attack. Peter broke from his fortress, Cervetri, the ancient Caere, without waiting (as according to agreement he should have done) for the other Ghibellines. He marched to Rome in one night; his friends opened the gate of S. Pancrazio to him, but he could not obtain a secure footing. As he tried to seize the island in the Tiber, the guards gave the alarm. Cantelmi hurried with his Provençals from the Capitol; the Roman Guelfs, under John Savelli, came from the city, and after an obstinate resistance Peter was forced to retire into the Trasteverine quarter Piscinula, and was then driven from it. His son was drowned in the Tiber, and he escaped with only three companions to Cervetri.[1] Rome thus remained in the possession of the Guelfs, and the Ghibellines ventured on no further enterprise.

Peter of Vico makes an attack on Rome, 1264.

In the meantime, Urban IV. died on October 2, 1264, in Perugia, whither he had escaped from rebellious Orvieto after a sojourn of almost two years. During the whole of his pontificate he had never entered Rome. His rule was as devoid of grandeur as his policy of any actual result. He had failed to obtain his foremost object, which was to compass the fall of Manfred, and to raise Charles of Anjou to the throne of Sicily.

Death of Urban IV., Oct. 2, 1264.

[1] Saba, p. 811. *Descriptio Victoriæ*, in Duchesne, v. 830. *Insula Lycaonia*, the name of the island in the Tiber, was still in use.

3. Clement IV., Pope, 1265—He incites Charles to the Conquest of Sicily—Counter-Preparations of Manfred—Difficult position of the Guelfs in Rome—Charles's Departure from France, and Successful Landing—His Entry into Rome—He is obliged to vacate the Palace of the Lateran—He takes Possession of the Senate—Receives the Investiture of Sicily from the Papal Legate.

It was with difficulty that the cardinals arrived at an understanding after Urban's death. A patriotically minded party among them desired reconciliation with Manfred, and wished to prevent the Provençal invasion of Italy. Precious moments! since on their decision hung the destinies of an unfathomable future, not for Italy alone, but also for the Papacy. A genius might have been able to extricate the Church from the labyrinth in which she found herself, but no genius was forthcoming. The Guelf and French party prevailed; the election fell on a Provençal, a subject of Charles of Anjou, and the policy of Urban IV. was thus recognised and continued. Guido Le Gros Fulcodi of S. Gilles in Languedoc had formerly been a layman, and the father of several children born in lawful wedlock. He had also been a lawyer of repute, and secret councillor in the cabinet of Lewis of France. After the death of his wife, wearied of the world, he entered a Carthusian monastery, and afterwards becoming successively Bishop of Puy and Archbishop of Narbonne,

was raised by Urban IV. in 1261 to be Cardinal of S. Sabina, and was now elected Pope in the beginning of 1265. Engaged on a mission to England, he was actually in France when he received the news of his election, which had taken place in secret from dread of the Ghibellines. Devoid of ambition, which had been quenched by experience of life, and by the philosophy inculcated by such experience, the seriously-minded old man hesitated to accept the tiara. He went, however, to Perugia, there yielded to the urgent entreaties of the cardinals, and was consecrated as Clement IV., in the cathedral of the Umbrian city, on February 22, 1265.[1]

Clement IV., Pope, 1265–1268.

No choice remained to the new Pope but to continue the work of his predecessor, and to bring it to a speedy end. He ratified Charles's election; he ordered the legate Simon to hasten the conclusion of the treaty, summoned King Lewis to support his brother's undertaking, and transformed the vow of making the Crusade into that of fighting against Manfred. Money formed the sinews of the enterprise, and to raise money was difficult. Although the bishoprics of Christendom had been drained by Rome, nevertheless the Church of France was to provide the costs of the campaign in the customary form of tithes for the Crusade, which Urban IV. had already demanded for three years. Even the reluc-

[1] The dates in Papebroch. His first encyclical is dated February 22: Raynald, n. 3. A letter to Charles, in which he still signs himself as cardinal on January 5, 1265, shows that he was already designated Pope. Martene, *Thes. Epist. Clement IV.*, i., and Mansi on Raynald, A. 1265, n. i.

tant bishops of England and Scotland were urged to pay the same taxes. Clement IV., like his predecessor, taxed the whole of Europe in order to preserve the feudal supremacy over Sicily for the sacred chair; nevertheless, he was free from the reproach of avarice and nepotism, to both of which vices he was a stranger.[1]

Charles's wife pledged her jewels, begged for money from the barons of France, and accepted loans. Adventurers assumed the cross, and French knights, covetous of land, were ready to take part in an expedition which promised them cities and counties in the loveliest country in the world. While preparations for the enterprise were organised in France, Manfred took measures to encounter it in Italy. To an army arriving by land, he hoped, if not to close the Alpine passes, at least to prepare for its sure overthrow in Lombardy, where Palavicini, Boso de Doara, the Margraves Lancia, Jordan of Anglano, and the friendly cities offered their arrière ban. A fleet of Sicilian and Pisan galleys was to bar the way to the enemy by sea. Tuscany was still in Manfred's power; his vicar, the Count Palatine Guido Novello, governed in his name the league of powerful Ghibelline cities, which Lucca had joined in the summer of 1264; and the exertions of the Pope, who, through the zeal of the bishop, William of Arezzo, had effected a league of the

Charles of Anjou prepares for his expedition.

[1] He would not allow any of his relations to come to Rome; he gave his niece in marriage to an insignificant knight with a portion of 300 silver pieces. See the excellent letter to his nephew in Raynald, *ad A.* 1265, n. x.

King Manfred prepares for defence.

banished Guelfs, promised but little success.[1] Peter of Vico and the Anibaldi covered Roman Etruria; guards were stationed along the coasts, and Manfred had even rendered the mouth of the Tiber impracticable. He ordered out all the men of his kingdom, took Saracens from Africa into his pay, raised forces in Germany also, strengthened the fortresses of Campania, and advanced to the frontiers of Latium to threaten Rome, in the neighbourhood of which his troops, with Roman Ghibellines under Jacopo Napoleon Orsini, occupied the stronghold of Vicovaro, the key of the Valerian Way, while others awaited in their fortresses the opportunity of forcing an entrance into the city and taking revenge on their opponents.

Jacopo Cantelmi, Pro-senator of Charles of Anjou.

The Guelfs in the city grew impatient. Their Senator Charles had pledged himself by oath to be in Rome at Whitsuntide; his coming, however, was doubted. His vicar Cantelmi was so destitute of means that he fell into contempt. "The Roman people," wrote Clement to Charles, "of illustrious name and haughty disposition, has summoned thee to the government of the city, and desires to see thy face; it requires to be treated with greater circum-

[1] Archives of Siena: on August 14, 1264, Lucca elected procurators to swear fidelity to Manfred and Count Guido (n. 794). On June 2, 1265, the *Parte Guelfa* in Siena formed a league with Orvieto, Fumi, *Cod. Dipl. di Orvieto*, p. 249. On June 22, 1265, Clement IV. ordered the Bishop of Arezzo to call out the Guelf league against Manfred: *dat. Perusii X. Kl. Julii A. I.* (n. 814). On July 2, 1265, the Guelfs banished from Siena and their captain, the Bishop of Arezzo, formed an alliance: *act. Perusii . . . A.* 1265. *Ind. VIII. die VI. Non Julii* (n. 814).

spection, for the Romans" (added the Pope, with irony) "demand from their rector an imposing appearance, sonorous speeches, and formidable actions, asserting that such are due to the sovereignty of the world. I give credit to thy vicar, Cantelmi, and to his companions, but the insignificant number of his retinue and the meanness of his expenditure diminish his and thy prestige."[1] Cantelmi one day broke open the Lateran treasury, to take what he could find; Clement himself, reduced to the last extremity in Perugia, protested, explaining that he was not bound to maintain Rome at his own cost for Count Charles; nevertheless, he made loans, drawn from the banks of Tuscan and Umbrian cities, and was daily tormented by Provençals and Romans to provide money. The city became increasingly discontented; banished Ghibellines secretly entered and sowed disturbances; security was at an end; robbery and murder were rife; the streets were barricaded. The Guelf nobility wrote urgent letters to the Pope, beseeching him to hasten Charles's arrival; should he delay, deprived of means as they were, and exhausted with keeping watch both day and night, they could no longer defend the city. The afflicted Pope exhorted them to endurance, lamenting that he had neither money or arms, and declaring that he relied on the subsidies of the French Church, and was assured of the speedy arrival of the count. He implored Charles to make haste, since Rome was in danger of reverting to the

Destitution of Charles and the Pope.

[1] The letter quoted above, before Clement became Pope. Martene, ii. Ep. i., *Clementis IV.*

enemy, and Charles at length announced his approach. His knight, Ferrerius, safely arrived in advance with a troop of Provençals; the Gascon captain made a foolhardy attack on the Ghibellines at Vicovaro, but was taken prisoner, and sent to Manfred's camp. The first deed of arms on the part of the French was consequently unfortunate, and this favourable omen raised the courage of the Sicilian army. Poor Count Carlotto was made an object of derision; it was asserted that if ever he reached Rome he went to his open grave.

Successful expedition of Charles of Anjou.

The expedition of Charles of Anjou to Sicily belongs to the list of adventurous and successful crusading enterprises of this period, which were mainly undertaken by the French. The first conquerors of Sicily had gone forth from Normandy; thence Duke William, Charles's prototype, had issued to attack England. France equipped the first and the last Crusade: French knights had conquered Byzantium. Charles, already distinguished among the crusaders in the East (where he had been taken prisoner along with his brother at Mansura), sought a crown to satisfy his own ambition and to relieve his poverty and debts. No thought deterred this prince from making war on a king who had never injured him; in the eyes of himself and of his bloodthirsty Provençals the enterprise was wholly chivalrous and a continuation of the Crusades. The Pope himself compared him with Charles, the son of Pipin, who had once come from the same France to the deliverance of the Church.[1]

[1] *Illam eamdem liberationem—per eum consequeretur Ecclesia, quam*

A distant similarity of circumstances recalled the times when the popes had summoned the French king to Italy, to deliver them from the yoke of the Lombards. In the age of Charles the Great, however, an expedition of conquest against a Christian prince under the title of a holy crusade would still have appeared godless. The gloomy Charles of Anjou appeared on the ancient battle-ground of Romans and Germans like Narses, while Manfred assumed the tragic aspect of Totila. History describes a circle; for although the relations of the powers were different, the conditions remained essentially the same; the Pope summoned a foreign conqueror into Italy to deliver him from the yoke of the German. The Swabian dynasty fell as that of the Goths had once fallen. On one and the same classic stage the impressive overthrow of two dominions and their heroes adorned history with a twofold tragedy, of which the second seemed, as it were, to be merely the precise repetition of the first.

The Count of Anjou left the greater part of his army, which was to make its way through North Italy, in Provence, and embarked at Marseilles in April 1265. Blind fortune accompanied his foolhardy expedition. The same storm which cast him with only three vessels on the shores of Porto Pisano dispersed the fleet of Manfred's admiral, and when

Charles of Anjou embarks at Marseilles in April 1265.

per cl. mem. magnum Carolum Pipini filium, ejusdem progenitorem comitis—thus Urban wrote to the French bishops, imploring them to pay the tithes. The *Descriptio Victoriæ obtentæ per brachium Caroli*, a trivial composition by Andrew the Hungarian chaplain and dedicated to Charles's brother, the Count d'Alençon, veils the entire conquest in an aureole of ecclesiastical sanctity.

Guido Novello, who commanded in Manfred's name at Pisa, sallied forth with the German cavalry to seize Charles (which, had he arrived in time, he infallibly must have done), Charles had again set sail. He passed close to the enemy's fleet, as it were by miracle, and sailed successfully past Cape Argentaro and Corneto.

Finally, amid thunder and lightning, he found himself opposite the Roman shores of Ostia. The sea was high, the landing difficult, the shore unexplored; no one knew what to do. Charles, however, resolutely jumped into a boat, steered successfully through the seething waves, and sprang to land. The guards in Ostia offered no resistance; no enemy appeared. On the rumour that the Count of Anjou had landed, the noblest families of the Guelf party in Rome advanced to receive him.[1] They led Charles amidst shouts of rejoicing to S. Paul's; it was the Thursday before Whitsuntide, May 21, 1265, when he alighted at the monastery, in order to make his entry into Rome. His galleys soon after reached the mouth of the Tiber; the barricades in the river were removed, and the entire Provençal fleet advanced up the stream to S. Paul's without the Walls.

He lands at Ostia.

The Romans crowded to survey the future King of Sicily, their elected Senator. He was a man of forty-six years of age, of powerful form and kingly

[1] Among them were Frangipani, Cencii, Anibaldi of the branch of Molara, Orsini, Paparoni, Capizucchi, Conti, Colonna, Crescentii, Parentii, Malabranca, de Ponte, Pierleoni, and others. *Descriptio Victoriæ* as above, and Tutini, *De Contestabili*, p. 75.

demeanour. His olive-tinted face was severe and hard; his glance stern and awe-inspiring. A restless spirit dwelt in this rough nature; he lamented that sleep shortened the time for human action. He hardly ever laughed. Every attribute that can qualify a man ambitious, but devoid of genius, to become a tyrant and conqueror was possessed by Charles in fullest measure, so that he was eminently calculated to serve as the fitting instrument of the Pope.[1]

He enters Rome, May 23, 1265.

On the eve of Whitsuntide (May 23) he made his entry into Rome by the gate of S. Paul. He came with only 1000 knights without horses, and was received by processions of the clergy and citizens, of the nobles and knights on horseback. The Guelfs in Rome displayed an unusual splendour in order to do honour to their Senator; a tournament and war dance were given, and songs of thanksgiving were sung in praise of Charles's new majesty. Contemporaries asserted that since the memory of man the Romans had not received any of their rulers with like splendour. The new Senator, surrounded by his Provençals, rode through the gaily decorated city, but no chamberlain scattered money, and the poor inhabitants found not a single denier lying on the ground. The Count of Anjou had come to Rome with empty hands, and instead of his making gifts to the people the Guelfs were obliged to offer money to him.

His magnificent reception in the city.

[1] See his character in Villani, c. i. Nevertheless, in conformity with the customs of the age, Charles composed verses as a troubadour. Two chansons in St. Priest, tom. i. Appendix.

When, according to royal custom, Charles alighted at the palace of S. Peter's, he made his dwelling in the Lateran without more ado. Clement expressed astonishment at the unmannerly effrontery of his guest, who, without even asking permission, took up his abode in the palace of the popes. He wrote him a remarkable letter. "Thou hast made bold to do that which no Christian king has ever permitted himself. Contrary to all decorum, thy followers at thy bidding have entered the Lateran palace. Thou must know that it is in no wise agreeable to me that the Senator of the city, however illustrious and honoured may be his person, should make his residence in one of the palaces of the popes. I desire to prevent future abuses: the precedence of the Church must not be infringed by any one, least of all by thee, whom we have called to thy exalted station. Thou must not take this amiss. Seek thy abode elsewhere in the city; it has plenty of spacious palaces. Moreover do not say that we have rudely thrust thee out of one of our palaces; we have, on the contrary, been mindful of thine own dignity."[1] The count left the Lateran and reminded himself that he was only the creature of the papal favour. Neither did he make his dwelling in the Senate-house of the Capitol, where his vicar continued to reside, but in the palace of the Quattro Coronati on the Cœlian.[2]

The Pope forbids him to make his dwelling in the Lateran.

Perugia, June 18. Ep. lxxii.

[2] I believe him to have lived here, not only because this palace was afterwards the residence of the Senator Henry, but also because Charles thence dated a document on October 14, 1265: *Rome ap. sanctos quatuor* (Del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl. di Carlo I.*, n. xxiii.).

On June 21, Charles was invested with the insignia of the senatorship in the convent of Araceli.[1] He immediately perpetuated the memory of the fact in coins, which he had stamped with his name.[2] In accordance with the statutes of Rome he had brought his judges with him; he also retained his representative in the Senate, for he had to deal with weightier matters than the administration of the city, or the lawsuits of Roman citizens.[3] The possession of the senatorship was undoubtedly an incalculable advantage, and he speedily gave it to be understood that he intended to exercise his office as sovereign head of the Roman republic, such as Brancaleone had been. The Pope, however, was accurate to perceive the count's overstepping of the limits of his authority; he replied to Charles's observation, that he only claimed the rights of earlier senators, by telling him that he had not summoned him to emulate the unbecoming deeds of his predecessors and to usurp the rights of the Church.[4]

Charles of Anjou assumes the office of Senator, June 21, 1265.

[1] Lelli (*Storia di Monreale*, ii. 11) shows that the Archbishop Gaufrid of Beaumont was a witness of Charles's assumption of the office of Senator, *nel chiostro di dentro della Chiesa di S. M. di Campidoglio—Domenica à 21 di Giugno del* 1265.

[2] Obverse, in the centre a lion; above, three lilies: KAROLUS S.P.Q.R. Reverse, Rome seated with the orb and palm: ROMA CAPVT MVNDI. The coin was struck before Charles became king. Other coins bearing the inscription CAROLVS. REX. S.P.Q.R., or CAROLVS REX SENATOR VRBIS probably belong to his second period of office. Vitale, Floravonte; Papon, *Gesch. der Provence*, ii. 575.

[3] In January 1266 Charles's *Vicarius Urbis* is mentioned. Ep. 215. One of Charles's judges was Bertrand from Milan. Ep. 205.

[4] He forbade Corneto and other Tuscan cities to take a captain from the family of the above-mentioned Bertrand. Ep. 205, Perugia,

Charles of Anjou invested with the crown of Sicily, June 28, 1265.

Charles's investiture with Sicily took place on June 28. The four cardinals commissioned to concede it, Anibaldo of the Twelve Apostles, Richard of S. Angelo, John of S. Nicolò, and Jacopo of S. Maria in Cosmedin, performed the act in the basilica of the Lateran. The count took at their hands the oath of fealty to the Church and received the banner of S. Peter as symbol of the investiture. Clement had at first tried to ally such oppressive conditions with the sovereign authority, that the count's *rôle* would have been that simply of a temporary vassal. After difficult negotiations, however, Charles had been able to make more favourable conditions. Under the obligation of conceding full immunity to the clergy, and in return for the payment of 8000 ounces and the repayment of advances which had been made, he obtained the indivisible kingdom of Sicily (with the exception of Benevento) as a fief of the Church hereditary in his family. He again swore to resign his authority in Rome into the hands of the Pope as soon as he had conquered Apulia.

Charles regarded himself henceforward as King of Sicily, although the procrastinating Pope only ratified the investiture on November 4. As early as July he issued royal decrees, and on October 14, 1265, he ordered a university to be founded as a lasting monument of his senatorial authority in Rome, to which he had been called by God, and for the

December 29. He forbade Charles's vicar to appoint a vassal of the count as rector in Castel Aspra. Ep. 215, January 7, 1266, where the passage concerning the relation of the popes to the senators is to be found.

benefit of the illustrious city.[1] The great step, however, was now to be taken; the kingdom which he had acquired on paper was to be actually conquered, and a thousand hindrances appeared to render the task impossible.

[1] The view (which is also held by Raumer, iv. 514) that Charles's *Regesta* purposely only begin with the year 1268 is mistaken. The dates on the backs of the volumes (wrongly beginning with 1268) do not correspond to the reports, which are scattered throughout the forty-nine volumes. Giuseppe del Giudice, in the *Cod. Dipl. del Regno di Carlo I. e II.* (Naples, 1863), has printed several letters of Charles from Rome in 1265 (all drawn up by Robert de Baro, *Magne Regie Curie protonotarius*). The first diploma which has been preserved of Charles as king is dated July 8, 1265: Privilegium for Benevento (Giudice, p. 27). Charles appointed Odo and Andrea Brancaleone de Romania captains in the Abruzzi on July 15, 1265. *Reg. Carol.*, 1269, A. n. 4, fol. 9: the oldest diploma in the collection of *Regesta*. Concerning Charles's diplomas, see also Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni Fatti riguardanti Carlo I. di Angiò*, &c., Napoli, 1874.

CHAPTER II.

1. Manfred's Letter to the Romans — His March into Roman Territory — First Hostile Encounter—Charles's pitiable Position in Rome — The Provençal Army marches through Italy and enters Rome — Charles crowned King of Sicily in S. Peter's.

Manfred was in Foggia at the time when Charles made his entry into Rome. On May 24 he thence issued a lengthy manifesto to the Romans, in which he said that he was the descendant of glorious emperors, who had ruled the world; that he was even justified in aiming at the imperial crown, but that the avaricious Church had made war upon him in his country and, after having been defeated there, had summoned Count Richard and the King of Castile to the empire. In order to defend his rights he had again subjugated Tuscany and the Marches; he was greater, both in wealth and power, than other princes, since he ruled over nearly the whole of Italy, over the sea as far as Tunis and Sardinia, as also over the greater part of Romania. Nevertheless the Pope had summoned the Count of Provence against him. To punish this arrogance he had sent his troops into S. Peter's patrimony, where they had been received by Peter of Vico. The avaricious

Church endeavoured to prevent his restoration of the empire, although she denied the fact, and resembled a widow who in public weeps the death of her husband, but secretly rejoices because she has succeeded to his property. Manfred further told the Romans, that the Church strove to annex the empire, and persecuted Frederick's race, in order to reign over all kings and countries, and that she traced her right to supremacy from the valueless donation of Constantine. He reproached the Romans that, owing to their want of courage, they themselves were to blame for these usurpations, for to them belonged the election and coronation of the emperor, and from them would he receive the empire, although he might take it against the will of the Senate, as Julius Cæsar and his grandfather Frederick had taken it. In conclusion, he summoned the Romans to remove the vicar of the Count of Anjou; he himself was approaching with force to take the imperial diadem from the Senate and people.[1]

This memorable manifesto reveals the height of Manfred's consciousness of power; he sums up in it his whole life. The position which he had acquired in Italy, as also the strength and the flourishing condition of his kingdom, justified him in regarding himself as Frederick's lawful heir, and at the same time in continuing the war with the Papacy. He

[1] Letter *Armonia celestis* . . . in Capasso, *Hist. Dipl. Reg. Sec.*, n. 274, abridged in Böhmer-Ficker, 4760. *Quum pro jam dicta restauracione Imperii ac rei pub. romanor. ad sacri sumendum dyadema Imperii, auctoritate tui senatus populi et communis, maxime nostre potencie comitiva, christi nomine evocato, advenire te Romam matrem et capud Imperii properamus.*

openly admitted that the restoration of the empire was his object, and that he would take the crown in Rome from the Roman people.

Learning that Charles was in Rome, Manfred was obliged to try to crush him before the arrival of the Provençal army. The undertaking was difficult, and with Apulians and Saracens was scarcely practicable. That he could not rely upon the Ghibelline party was soon made clear by the defection of many of its members, for Ostia and Civita Vecchia were surrendered to Charles, and even Peter of Vico, hitherto the most zealous leader of the Ghibellines in Roman Tuscany, deserted to the enemy's camp.[1] Manfred resolved to march into Roman territory. In the hope of drawing Charles out of the city and then annihilating his forces, he determined to push from the Abruzzi to Tivoli; in July he advanced to Cellae, the present Carsoli, after having commanded Count Guido Novello, his vicar-general in Tuscany, to proceed at the same time with all his strength against Rome.[2] The troops of the two opponents encountered each other for the first time in the mountains of Tivoli. The attempt to force an entrance into Tivoli itself failed and ended in an insignificant skirmish.[3]

Manfred advances against Tivoli.

[1] Ep. 90. Clement wrote from Perugia on July 11 to the Rector of the Patrimony concerning this occurrence: Peter was probably appointed Prefect on this account.

[2] Böhmer, *Acta Imp. Sel.*, 980. Manfred to Guido Novello, Benevento, June 7, 1265.

[3] On December 10, 1265, Charles, who was then in Rome, settled a pension on Jacobus Rusticus de Audemario, because he had lost a hand fighting *in partibus tiburtinis*. Del Giudice, i. n. 28.

Manfred encamped, as formerly Frederick II. had done, on the field of Tagliacozzo, where only two years later the last of his house, whom he himself had deprived of the crown of Sicily, was to be overthrown by the same Angevin.[1] He had determined that since he could not gain Tivoli, he would push into Spoletan territory, when news from Apulia decided him to return to the kingdom. This he did in haste, after having strengthened the garrison of Vicovaro.[2]

Charles's impatience to encounter his rival was meanwhile checked by circumstances. Whether or not he advanced in person from Rome to the Liris in September is uncertain.[3]

Treason began its sinister work in the Sicilian kingdom. Several barons held secret negotiations with Charles. Report related that 60,000 Provençals had opened a way through Lombardy, while the Crusade was preached with success against Manfred in every country. The populace, long accustomed to hear the Crusade preached against one and the same German family, against father, son, and grand-

[1] *Castrametatus in confinio territorii urbis apud Tallacocium. Mansit ibi cum toto exercitu suo circa duos menses*—then he went to Arsoli. This account is certainly most inexact (*Descr. Vict.*, p. 833).

[2] Ep. 96, Perugia, July 13. Ep. 137, *ibid.*, August 25: *venit ad matricem*—(Amatrica in Abruzzo)—*in regnum rediit festinanter, dimissa militia Vicovari.*

[3] The Diarium of M. of Giovenazzo is spurious: *Matteo di Giovenazzo, eine Fälschung des 16 Jahrh.*, by W. Bernhardi, Berlin, 1868. Charles's *Regesta* show that he was in Rome on July 15 and 16, August 9, and September 7. Then on September 23 (Del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl.*, vol. i.). Manfred was in Capua on August 25, *Reg. Imp.*

son, listened thoughtlessly to the summons of Clement IV., who announced that in the Count of Provence the Church had appointed a champion against "the poisonous brood of a dragon of poisonous race," and exhorted the faithful to take the cross under the same banner and above all things to give money, in return for which every sin would be forgiven.[1] As in the time of Frederick II. swarms of mendicant monks spread themselves over Italy and Apulia, disseminating hatred against the existing government, encouraging treason, and filling the mind of the populace with superstitious dread.

Destitution of Charles of Anjou.

The King, who well knew the financial difficulties in which Charles in Rome and Clement in Perugia were involved, never doubted that their plans would be shattered. Seldom has a great undertaking been equipped with such wretched means. The expenses of the conquest of Sicily were literally collected by begging or were raised from usurers. The destitution of the debt-ridden Charles was so great that he knew not how to provide for his daily expenses (which amounted to 1200 pounds *Tours*). He assailed the Pope, the Pope the King of France and the bishops with piteous demands for money. We still read the

[1] Bull of indulgence: *De venenoso genere velut de radice colubri virulenta progenies Manfredus qd. princeps Tarentinus egressus—visus est quantum potuit paternam sævitiam superare . . . oportuit nos pro Eccl. defensione Athletam assumere.* Ep. 145, without a date. Cardinal Simon is empowered to absolve: *manuum injectores in clericos—incendiarios—sacrilegos sortilegos—clericos concubinarios—nec non presbyteros et religiosos quosl. qui contra constitutionem Eccl. leges vel physicam audierint—dum tamen pro hujusmodi negotio recipiant signum crucis.*

many letters of the Pope,—dreary monuments of an enterprise which never redounded to the honour of the Church. "My treasury is completely empty; the reason whereof is shown by a glance at the confusion of the world. England resists, Germany will not obey, France sighs and grumbles, Spain has enough to think of in her own affairs, Italy pays nothing, but devours. How can the Pope find money for himself and others without resorting to godless means? Never in any undertaking have I found myself in such straits." Thus Clement wrote to Charles.[1] The Church tithes of the first year were spent in preparations. France would give no money, and the Pope believed the enterprise lost. Charles tried to raise a loan from the Roman merchants; they, however, demanded the ecclesiastical property in Rome as security. With sighs Clement agreed to the bond. For, as he admitted, unless the loan is raised the count must either fly, or die of hunger. Thirty thousand pounds were raised with difficulty on these securities; Manfred, it was said, had by his gold prevented the Roman banks from giving more.[2] Usurers from the south of France,

Loans raised in Rome.

[1] Ep. 105: *licet nunquam in negotio aliquo major perplexitas nobis occurrerit.* Ep. 135, a piteous letter to the King of France: *Moveant igitur te viscera pietatis ad fratrem, moveant et ad matrem. . . .* The many letters of the same tenor show the deplorable position of Charles and of the Pope.

[2] *Et si non fiat, regem oportet vel fame deficere, vel aufugere.* Ep. 118 and 120. The loan amounted to 100,000 pounds Provins. Ep. 181 to Lewis, from Perugia, November 17, according to which only 30,000 pounds were raised. On October 4, 1265, Charles admitted that his debt to the merchants, contracted on the mortgage of the ecclesiastical property, had been contracted for the conquest of Sicily

Italy, and Rome made use of Sicilian affairs to drain the Pope and the count. "Ask," the Pope wrote to Cardinal Simon, "ask the count himself how wretched his life is; he begs clothing and keep for himself and his people with the sweat of his brow, and always looks to the hands of his creditors, who suck his blood. They make him pay a solidus for that which is not worth two pence, and even this he only acquires by flattery and humble request."[1] Clement never lived through more trying days than these, when the political undertakings of the Church forced him to descend to the petty cares to which a priest of Christianity should ever remain a stranger.

With growing impatience the Pope awaited the arrival of the army. "If thy troops do not come," he wrote to Charles, "I do not know how thou wilt await them and how thou wilt manage to live, how thou wilt maintain the city or assist the approach of the army if it be delayed. Should it, however, arrive, as we hope, still less do I know how we shall feed so many men."[2]

Everything, in fact, depended on whether the Provençal army reached Rome or not. Should it be defeated by the Ghibellines in northern Italy, Charles was lost and Manfred triumphed. The cardinal-legate in France had equipped the crusading army assembled in Provence in case of emergency, and had

(Del Giudice, n. xx.). There were wealthy houses in Rome: *in Urbe —sunt plures abundantes in sæculo multas divitias obtinentes*, wrote the Pope to Charles. Ep. 89.

[1] Ep. 165, Perugia, October 19

[2] Ep. 173, Perugia, October 30.

set it in motion in June. Here were found barons of renowned name, brave knights in whom still glowed a spark of the fanaticism that had kindled the Albigensian wars; all thirsting for glory, gold and land: Bocard, Count of Vendôme, and his brother John; Jean de Néelle, Count of Soissons; the Constable Gilles le Brun, Pierre of Nemours, Grand-Chancellor of France, the Marshal of Mirepoix, William l'Estendard, Count Courtenay, the warlike Bishops Bertrand of Narbonne and Guy de Beaulieu of Auxerre, Robert of Bethune, the young son of Guy de Dampierre, Count of Flanders; the whole house of Beaumont, several noble families from Provence; finally, Philip and Guido of the celebrated house of Montfort.[1] This army of rapacious adventurers, decorated by the Pope himself with the cross of the Redeemer in order that they might conquer a foreign and Christian country amid streams of blood, crossed the Alps of Savoy in June, to the number of about 30,000 men. Treaties which Charles had made with the counts of these territories and with some cities opened him a way through Piedmont; the Margrave of Montferrat joined him at Asti and the Margrave of Este with other Guelfs stood in arms near Mantua.[2]

Advance of the Provençal army through Italy.

In vain Palavicini, Jordan of Anglano and Boso

[1] William de Nangis, p. 374: *Descriptio Victoriæ*, p. 834; Villani, vii. c. 4: Papon, iii. 17.

[2] On August 9, 1265, the league was concluded between Charles, Obizzo of Este, Lewis, Count of Verona, Mantua and Ferrara against Manfred, Palavicini, and Boso: *Actum Rome in Palatio Capitolii* . . . in the presence of the witnesses Robertus de Lavena, Robert de Baro, Riccardus Petri Anibaldi, Anibaldus Domini Trasimundi. Verci, ii. 88.

of Doara hoped to hold the river Oglia; their exertions failed. Palavicini finally threw himself into Cremona, and the French continued their march to Bologna amid terrible devastation.[1] Four hundred Guelfs, who had been banished from Florence, joined them in Mantua and promised them greater reinforcements. Thus from party hatred the Italians of this age, Guelfs as well as Ghibellines, admitted a foreign conqueror into their country and opened the way to the French for centuries to come. The sense of freedom and of patriotism had become enfeebled in the exhausted cities; no tie bound the ancient federations, no great national sentiment rose above petty party aims and domestic quarrels. Milan, Brescia, Verona, Cremona, Pavia, and Bologna were rent asunder by the fury of factions or bowed under tyrants, while the ports of Genoa and Venice, and even Pisa, followed their own commercial advantage.

The Ghibellines in Tuscany did not prevent the advance of the enemy, when, avoiding this territory, the Provençal army proceeded through the Marches and the dukedom of Spoleto to advance against Rome. Recanati, Foligno, Rimini, and other places

[1] There was suspicion of treachery on the part of Boso. Dante saw his shade in the icefields of the lowest depth of hell (*Inferno*, xxxii. 115):—

E piange qui l'argento de' Franceschi;
Io vidi, potrai dir, quel de Duera,
La dove i peccatori stanno freschi.

Boso, banished from Cremona by the papal party, died in misery. Schirrmacher, *Die letzten Hohenstaufen*, pp. 518, 519, tries, however, to show that the accusation of treachery is unfounded.

raised the Guelf standard. Manfred found himself bitterly deceived. His power over so many cities, extending as far as the Po, had only been a splendid delusion, and it was soon seen that his rule even in Apulia was a delusion also. In October he attempted an unsuccessful expedition to the Marches and finally, restricting himself merely to defence, he called Jordan of Anglano from Lombardy.

Charles, who, in order that he might be endowed with the prestige of legality, demanded his coronation as King of Sicily, had implored the Pope to crown him in Rome in person; the pride of the Romans, he said, would be offended by a coronation in Perugia or anywhere outside the city. The Pope replied indignantly that the Romans had no cause to be troubled concerning his election.[1] Many difficulties arising from the position in which the Pope found himself, Charles's arrogant demeanour as Senator, his financial distress, the horrors perpetrated on the march by the Provençal army, were represented to the King by Clement IV. in his irritation. It was with reluctance that the Pope had ratified Charles's investiture on November 4, reluctantly he issued a bull on December 29 fixing the date of the coronation, a ceremony which he, however, delegated to five cardinals, his representatives.

[1] Ep. 195, Perugia, December 20. Di Cesare says (p. 201), that, soon after his arrival, Charles visited the Pope at Perugia, and that Clement accompanied him to Rome. This is a mistake. *In Papatu numq. Romam intravit*, says Herm. Altahensis, *Annal.*, p. 406. *Vitoduranus Chron.* (Leibnitz, *Accession.*, i. 23) is also mistaken in saying that the Pope went in procession through Rome, accompanied by the Emperor Baldwin and King Charles.

Charles of Anjou crowned as King of Sicily, Jan. 6, 1266.

On January 6, 1266, Charles of Anjou and his wife Beatrix were accordingly crowned in S. Peter's as King and Queen of Sicily, and the custom that none but emperors and popes should receive coronation in the cathedral sacred to the apostles, and on the spot where Charles the Great had received the crown of empire, was thus for the first time set aside. Tournaments and popular festivals celebrated the ominous act.[1]

For a moment Manfred had hoped to gain the Pope to his side; this hope had now vanished for ever. Hearing of Charles's coronation, he sent envoys to the Pope; he entered a protest; in kingly language he invoked Clement to prevent the robber, whom Clement himself had armed, from making an attack upon his kingdom. We cannot read unmoved the terribly severe and prophetic answer of the Pope. "Let Manfred know," said Clement, "that the time for grace is past. Everything has its time, but time has not everything. The hero in arms has already issued from the gate; the axe is already laid to the roots."[2]

The Provençals meanwhile entered Rome soon after Charles's coronation. After a tedious march of seven months through the middle of Italy, they arrived in the longed-for city, exhausted, in rags and without pay. They hoped to find abundance of

Saba Malaspina (p. 819). The date of the coronation is given in Bernardus Guidonis, p. 595.

[2] *Jam in publicum prodiit fortis armatus, ad radicem posita est securis.* Ep. 266. These letters—invaluable documents—develop, scene by scene, this harrowing tragedy.

everything, and beheld the King, their master, oppressed with debts and restless with despair. He offered them nothing beyond the prospect of an immediate campaign, where they would be called on to ford rushing torrents, traverse pathless territory, to attack strong fortresses and to overcome armies skilled in war.

2. CHARLES LEAVES ROME—HE VICTORIOUSLY CROSSES THE LINE OF DEFENCE ON THE LIRIS—BATTLE OF BENEVENTO—MANFRED'S GLORIOUS FALL—CHARLES'S DESPATCHES TO THE POPE—MANFRED'S CHARACTER—CAUSES OF HIS RAPID OVERTHROW—FATE OF HELENA, HIS WIFE, AND OF HIS CHILDREN—CHARLES OF ANJOU ENTERS NAPLES.

Intolerable penury impelled Charles to lead his unpaid army as quickly as possible against the enemy, in whose rich territories he hoped to satisfy its demands.[1] He quitted Rome as early as January 20, 1266.[2] Several Italian Guelfs, several exiles from

[1] He implored the Pope to help him; the Pope answered: "Why do you incessantly torment me? I cannot perform miracles, I cannot transform earth and stones into gold." Ep. 225.

[2] *Bonifatius de Gualberto Vicarius ill. Regis Sicilie in Urbe* remained behind on the Capitol as Charles's prosenator: trial of heretics on January 22, 1266. *Giornale Arcadico*, t. 137, p. 264; patent of *Bonifatius de Gualberto, Vicar. excell. D. Karoli D. gr. Sicil, Regis et alme Urbis Sen. ill.* to the communes in the patrimony, exhorting them to obey the demands of his *jud. Palatin.*, Tadeus: *Dat Rome Ind. IX. m. Febr. die* 27 (Pinzi, ii. 181). Letter of Pope Clement, *Bonifatio de Gualberto Vicario Urbis Perusii V. Id. Martii* 1266, *ibid.*, p. 182, in which he exhorts him not to oppress the commune of Viterbo. Gualbert had demanded stores and

Apulia, many Romans, among whom the renegade Peter of Vico showed himself the most eager, brought up the rear. The cardinals bestowed absolution on the troops and accompanied Charles as far as the aqueducts outside the Porta Maggiore; Cardinal Richard Anibaldi escorted him to the fortress of Molaria on the slopes of the Latin Mountains, and the Cardinal Octavian accompanied him to the frontier as papal legate.[1]

Of the three roads that lead from Rome to the kingdom of Naples, the Valerian, the Latin and the Appian, Charles, like almost all the leaders of armies in the Middle Ages, chose the second. It traverses the country between the Apennines and the Volscian Mountains, passes by Anagni, Ferentino, and Frosinone, and reaches the frontier at the bridge of the Liris near Ceprano; then touches Rocca Secca, Aquino, and S. Germano, intersects the ridge of mountains of Cervara and ends in Capua. Manfred made his headquarters in this city, which his father had refortified and provided with towers at the bridge of the Volturnus. He thence hastened, now to Ceprano, now to S. Germano and Benevento, to institute preparations, for Charles's march had evidently taken him by surprise. Flourishing though his kingdom may have appeared, the aspect was merely external; his army, the German and

Manfred in Capua.

sappers from Viterbo, in order to recover Rispampano for the city of Rome.

[1] Richard Anibaldi owned Rocca di Papa, Campagnano, S. Lorenzo, Molara, Montefrenello, Castel Gerusalemme, Monte Compatri, Fusinano: Marini, *Archiatri Pontifici*, i. 33.

Saracen portions excepted, was already undermined by treachery and fear. The conquering expedition of Charles of Anjou consequently presents only scenes of apostacy, misfortune and sudden overthrow. The impatience of the Frenchman, who precipitated himself on Campania, crossed rivers and took fortified rocks by storm, shows him to have been distinguished by the energy, irresistible in the first onset, which has remained peculiar to his chivalrous nation down to present times; and it is only the heroism of Manfred's fall that atones for this celebrated tragedy at its close.[1]

The spring, which was early, dried the roads and facilitated Charles's march through the valley of the Sacco; his troops pressed forward unchecked over the Liris through the pass of Ceprano, which fell into the hands of the enemy through not treason but carelessness, chiefly because the bridge had not been broken down and, in short, was undefended.[2] The French next threatened the steep Cyclopean fortress of Arce, which was deemed impregnable;

[1] Villani's story that Manfred offered peace to Charles and that Charles replied: *ditez pour moi au Sultan de Nocère, aujourd'hui je mettrai lui en enfer, ou il mettra moi en paradis*, is one of the legends current of this period.

[2] The Apulian guards must have immediately forsaken the bridge. In the *Livre de la conqueste* in Buchon (*Recherches historiques*, i. p. 208) it is said quite correctly, *si le trova descombré; et passa oultre, et entra ou resgne de Puille. A Ceperan, là dove fu bugiardo—Ciascun Pugliese*, says Dante. The account of the treason of Richard of Caserta is, however, mythical; for how could Count Jordan have been so grossly outwitted? D. Forges Davanzati has excellently refuted the charge. *Dissert. sulla seconda moglie del Re Manfredi*, Napoli, 1791, p. 15.

the dismayed commander surrendered. The event spread terror through the length and breadth of Campania. Aquino and other cities yielded. Even the walls of S. Germano could not withstand the irresistible shock; the town, protected by lofty walls and by the marshes of the river Rapido, was taken by assault on February 10. All the surrounding country trembled at the unexpected fall; thirty-two fortresses yielded to Charles. The line of the Liris was in his power. It now behoved him to attack the stronger line of the Volturnus, behind which Manfred stood in Capua with the main portion of his army. The indefatigable enemy crossed the river northwards at Tuliverno, and climbed the mountains of Alife, Piedemonte and Telesia, to turn the position of the enemy by a flank movement. The soldiers were driven onwards by thirst for blood and spoil; they burned with impatience to make an end of their struggles in the heart of Campania, and although both they and their horses were exhausted by privation and fatigue, the prospect of victory overcame every obstacle. Traitors with their banners pushed forwards to Charles on the march; envoys brought him the keys of apostate cities, and thus encouraged, the French proceeded on their way over rivers and steep mountains.

S. Germano taken by the Provençals.

On Thursday, February 25, they made a halt in a wood fifteen miles from Benevento; on Friday on the heights of Capraria. Charles there pointed out to his warriors a considerable town standing with ruinous walls between two rivers. This was Benevento, the capital of Samnium, formerly celebrated

in the wars of Rome against Hannibal, afterwards the flourishing seat of the Lombard rulers of Apulia, then a papal possession, and finally incorporated in the empire by Frederick II. From the heights the French looked down on the beautiful plain of the rivers Calore and Sabbato, and beheld the long files of infantry, the German cavalry clad in heavy mail and the Saracens from Luceria ranged in order of battle.[1] For when the enemy intended to circumvent Manfred's position at Capua, Manfred had hastened to Benevento, to cut off Charles's way to Naples and to offer him battle, which both leaders had urgent cause to desire. Charles's troops were spurred on by intolerable hardships; in the midst of an enemy's country, their choice lay between victory or death. Manfred saw before him the enemy enfeebled by long marches, famished with hunger, badly mounted; but around him the faces of traitors, behind him Apulia, already falling away. Several counts secretly deserted his ranks, several refused the duty of vassals, alleging that they must defend their fortresses; others awaited the moment of battle in order to abjure their King. He, too, must either conquer or die.

Manfred in the camp of Benevento.

Defection of Manfred's vassals.

On Thursday night he was joined by 800 German cavalry, and his courage revived. He assembled the generals in a council of war. He was surrounded

[1] *Ecce de quod. monte descendentes vidimus in quad. planicie pulcherrima Manfredum quond. principem cum toto exercitu suo et posse acieb. paratis ad præl. mirabiliter ordinatis.* Account of the battle given by the knight Hugo de Balzo (*Descr. Vict.*, p. 843). He estimates Manfred's army at 5000 horse and 10,000 Saracen archers.

by the counts of the Lancia family,—brothers or relatives of his mother Bianca,—Galvan and Jordan, Frederick and Bartholomew, Manfred Malecta; also by Ghibelline captains from Florence, and by the high-minded Theobald Anibaldi. He was advised to delay the battle until the arrival of reinforcements; for Conrad of Antioch, Manfred's nephew, still remained in the Abruzzi, and other troops were expected from the South. Could these counsels have been followed, Charles's army would have perished through privation; but time was urgent and perhaps knightly honour also, and the traitors were not to be trusted for a single day. Manfred, therefore, resolved to give battle—and this was the counsel of despair, not on Charles's side alone, but on his own also. His astrologer declared the hour favourable; nevertheless Manfred's star, in truth, already neared the horizon.

Order of battle of Manfred's army;

He distributed his army in three divisions: the first, of 1200 German horse, was led by Jordan, Count of Anglano; the second, composed of Tuscans, Lombards, and Germans, 1000 knights strong, was commanded by Count Galvan and Count Bartholomew; the third, of Apulian vassals and Saracens, and numbering about 1400 men on horseback, with numerous archers and infantry, was under Manfred himself. The army advanced in this order over the Calore, and took up its position on the north-west of the town near S. Marco in the field of Grandella, or of the "Roses," awaiting the enemy's approach.

Meanwhile, in Charles's camp likewise voices were

heard urging delay of battle on account of the exhaustion of the troops. These counsels, however, were silenced by the Constable Gilles le Brun. Here also the army was divided into three portions. Provençals, Frenchmen, Picardese, Brabantines, Italian and Roman troops, the exiles from Apulia, were ranged under the command of Philip of Montfort, Guido of Mirepoix, King Charles, Count Robert of Flanders, the Count of Vendôme, the Constable, and other experienced captains. The Florentine Guelfs, eager to avenge the day of Monteaperto, formed a fourth division under Count Guido Guerra. As they advanced, 400 knights strong, in glittering armour, mounted on magnificent horses and bearing splendid banners, Manfred asked his attendants, whence came this distinguished band? "Guelfs from Florence," was the reply. "Where are my Ghibellines," he exclaimed, with a sigh, "those to whom I have rendered such services and on whom I had placed such hopes?" The Bishop of Auxerre and preaching friars meanwhile wandered among Charles's soldiers, who kneeled to receive absolution, while Charles himself here and there dispensed the honour of knighthood.[1]

of Charles of Anjou's.

The impatience of the Saracens began the battle; with loud cries they rushed upon the smaller French

The battle of Benevento, Feb. 26, 1266.

[1] The chroniclers, each in his own manner, place speeches to their armies in the mouths of Charles and Manfred. Manfred's view of the French was that still held in Germany, that only their first attack was formidable: *Gallici enim in primo instanti videntur audaces, sed nec sunt stabiles, nec habent durabilem animum neque fortem; immo sunt omnino plus quam credi valeat pavidi, quando inveniunt oppositionis resistentiam aliqualis.*

infantry, the Ribaldi, and brought them to the ground with their arrows. The French cavalry, however, immediately advanced and mowed down the Saracens. But the iron shock of the German knighthood under Count Jordan, who advanced with the shout "Swabians, knights!" dispersed these squadrons, until Charles's strongest legion rushed against them shouting the battle cry "Montjoie." The struggle between these two squadrons of knights decided the day. The celebrated battle of Benevento was fought with scarcely 25,000 men on each side. The long and terrible war between Church and Empire, between Romans and Germans, was brought to a close on a narrow field of battle, in the course of a few hours, by a few troops, perhaps by an accident. The French fought with short swords, the Germans, according to the ancient custom of their country, with long broadswords. The Roman cut and thrust won the victory over the German mode of fighting, as it had formerly won it in the eleventh century at Civita. Behind each of Charles's cavaliers sat a foot-soldier, who, whenever a German knight was unhorsed, fell upon him and killed him with his club. The legion of the brave Jordan perished. Galvan and Bartholomew, it is true, continued the battle for a time, but in vain. The valiant Germans fought and fell like ancient Goths with the courage of heroes, the representatives—devoted to death—of the German empire, which had come to an end with Frederick II.

King Manfred, seeing his troops waver and fall, ordered the third division, the feudal vassals of

Apulia and Sicily, to advance into battle. It is incomprehensible how, instead of this force, he had not kept back a German reserve for the decisive moment. The Italians immediately fled; even Thomas of Acerra, Manfred's brother-in-law, escaped in treacherous flight; other barons forthwith followed his example, throwing themselves into Benevento or the Abruzzi. When the King perceived that his fate was decided, he resolved to die like a hero. The companions who remained around him advised him to escape into the interior of his country, or to fly to Epirus, there at the court of his father-in-law to await better days. He scorned their counsels and called on his armour-bearer to bring his helmet. As he placed it on his head, the silver eagle fell to the ground, and he exclaimed, "*Ecce, Signum Domini!*" Devoid of any sign of royalty, he rushed among the enemy, seeking death, and accompanied by his noble companion, Theobald Anibaldi, who was resolved to die by his side.

When night fell on the field of Benevento the gloomy victor sat in his tent and dictated the following letter to the Pope. "After a fierce struggle on both sides, with the Divine aid, we caused the two first ranks of the enemy to yield, on which the rest sought safety in flight. So great was the carnage on the field that the bodies of the slain covered the face of the earth. The fugitives did not all escape. Many fell by the swords of the pursuers. Many were taken prisoners and brought to our dungeons; among them Jordan and Bartholomew who have hitherto presumed to call themselves counts; also

Charles announces his victory to the Pope.

Pier Asino (degli Uberti) the infamous head of the Ghibellines of Florence.[1] We are not sufficiently informed—more especially as we write in haste—to tell you who among the enemy was killed early in the battle. Many, however, say that the former Counts Galvan and Herrigeccus are dead.[2] Of Manfred we have as yet heard nothing: whether he fell in battle, was taken prisoner, or escaped. The charger which he rode and which is in our hands seems to imply his death. I inform your Holiness of this great victory, in order that you may thank the Almighty, who has granted it and who fights for the cause of the Church by my arm. When I have exterminated the root of the evil from Sicily, I shall (on that thou may'st rely) bring the kingdom back to its ancient duty of vassalage towards the Church, to the honour and praise of God, and to the welfare of His kingdom. Given at Benevento, on February 26 in the ninth Indiction and in the first year of our reign."[3]

[1] In Martene's text, Ep. 236, 240: *Jordan. et Barthol. dictus Simplex.* Two persons are confused here. On June 20, 1262, Bartholomew of Asti (a Lancia) appears as Manfred's vicar in the Maremma (Archives of Siena, n. 758); on the other hand, after August 1262, and even in February 1264, Franciscus Simplex was vicar-general for Tuscany (*ibid.*, n. 760 *sq.*); he was succeeded by Count Guido Novello.

[2] *Herrigeccus* is *Henricus de Vigintimiliis, comes Yscle:* Schirrmacher, *Letzte Hohenstaufen*, 530. The report of his death was mistaken.

[3] This despatch, one of the earliest reports of battle, is given in its entirety in the *Descriptio Vict.*, p. 845, and in Martene, Ep. 236. In the *Descr.* the letter is dated February 26, and Charles undoubtedly despatched the courier that night. The Pope says (Ep. 238) he had

Three days later he wrote: "The triumph which God granted me over the public enemy at Benevento, I have recently announced to your Holiness. In order to assure myself of the justice of the report, which was growing increasingly decided, that Manfred had fallen in battle, I had search made among the slain upon the field, all the more since there was no rumour that he had escaped by flight. On Sunday, February 28, his naked corpse was found among the slain. That there might be no mistake in a matter so important, I had the body shown to my faithful follower, Count Richard of Caserta, to the former Counts Jordan and Bartholomew, and to their brothers, as also to other men who had known Manfred in his lifetime; they recognised him and declared that it was undoubtedly the body of Manfred. Moved by feelings of humanity I have caused the dead to be buried with honour, though not with ecclesiastical rites. Given in our camp at Benevento, on March 1 in the first year of our reign."[1] Charles's second account.

When the captive counts, led in chains over the battlefield, found the naked body of the King and were asked whether this was Manfred, they replied with a terrified "Yes!" Only the brave Jordan of Anglano cried in anguish "O my King!" covered his face with his hands and wept bitterly.[2] At Manfred's body is discovered.

received the letter *III. Kalend. Martii*, which is utterly impossible, owing to the distance of Perugia. Instead of *III.* we may read *V.*

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 847.

[2] Such is the touching account given by Villani, with which that of Saba Malaspina entirely agrees. *Tutti timorosomente dissono di sì! Quando venue il conte Giordano sì si diede delle mani nel volto piagnendo e gridando: omè signor mìo.*

Manfred's side lay Theobald Anibaldi, his brother in arms, a warrior worthy of his Roman name, who had bestowed a glorious renown on his own Ghibelline family. By command of the victor, Manfred was buried in the ground at the bridge of the river Calore; the French soldiers, to do honour to his heroic spirit, each placed a stone upon his grave, thus rearing a giant monument. But a short time afterwards the low-minded Bishop Pignatelli of Cosenza, Manfred's sworn enemy, with the Pope's consent caused the dead to be taken from his grave and, as a person under the ban of the Church, to be cast out on the frontier of Latium, on the banks of the river Verde (that is to say, the Liris).[1]

Manfred was thirty-four years of age at the time of his fall, and, like Totila, was glorious both in life and death. And as in former days the Gothic hero, in his youthful and victorious career, restored the empire of Theodoric, so Manfred raised Frederick's empire in Italy from the ruin into which it had fallen and upheld it for several years. He now also fell before the fortune of a conqueror from a foreign country, who had been armed by the Pope. From

[1] *E fu sepolto lungo il fiume del Verde, a' confini del regno e di Campania* (Villani, vii. 9). Dante (*Purgatorio*, c. 3):—

Di fuor dal regno, quasi lungo il Verde.

Pius II. (*Commentar.*, lib. xii. 312) says: *Fluvium quod ambit insulam* (sc. *di Sora*) *Viridem vocant, aut Lyris hic est, aut in Lyrim eadit.* The green colour of the Liris will strike anyone who has seen it near Ceprano and Sora. That the river Verde is to be sought here, is shown by a rescript of Prince Charles of Salerno in 1284: *in flumari Viridi juxta muros civitatis Sore.* (C. M. Riccio, *Diario Angionino dal* 4 *Geñ.* 1284 *al* 7 *Geñ.* 1285, Napoli, 1873, p. 6.)

motives of party hatred the Guelfs stigmatised him as the murderer of father and brother, and heaped the most hideous crimes upon his name; the popes cursed him as a poisonous viper and a godless pagan. But the shade of Manfred appeared to the noblest spirit of the Middle Ages, who was born before his death, not, according to the delusions of the priests, among the damned in hell, but in friendly guise in purgatory, and smilingly told him that the priestly curse possessed no power over atoning love.[1] The best of his contemporaries, numbers of the Guelf party themselves, saw in him the flower of splendid manhood; extolled his generous magnanimity, the gentle nobility of his manners, his fine culture, and his greatness of soul, which rarely betrayed him into a mean or angry action.[2]

Noble form of King Manfred.

[1] *Per lor maladizion si non si perde*
Che non possa tornar l'eterno amore,
Mentre che la speranza ha fior del verde.
—*Purgatorio*, c. iii.

That even Dante seems to have believed in Manfred's crimes is shown by the exclamation, which he places in the mouth of the shade: *orribili furon i peccati miei!*

[2] Ricobald compares him to Titus: Saba calls him *generosus*, *benignus*, *virtuosus*, *magnanimus*. The troubadour Adam d'Arras describes him:—

Biaus chevalier et preus,
Et sage fu Manifrois,
De toutes bonnes teches,
Entechiés et courtois.
En lui ne falloit riens,
Forsque seulement fois;
Mais cette faute est laide,
En contes et en Rois.

Papon, *Gesch. der Provence*, iii. 27. The rhymed chronicle of

Beside the corpse of his noble adversary, Charles of Anjou presented one of those moral contrasts of this world, in which the evil seems to triumph over the good. Nevertheless Manfred's fall was in this high sense tragic, that we therein recognise the power of historic destiny, which overthrows the outworn institutions of the world, crushing the heirs of these institutions beneath their ruins. The practical causes of his overthrow are moreover revealed by the history of South Italy, a land devoid of patriotism, fidelity, or constancy, a land where no dynasty has ever acquired a permanent foothold, and where, down to the present day, every invasion and conquest has succeeded. The wise laws of Frederick II. had founded a monarchical government, but no national state; the throne of Manfred rested insecurely on the vassalage of the nobles, who, according to the saying of the Guelf, Saba Malaspina, first divided the spoils of Sicily with him, and then faithlessly betrayed him. German soldiers and Saracens—that is to say, foreign troops—were the sole trustworthy supporters of his dominion; when these supporters gave way, as they did at S. Germano and Benevento, his dominion could endure no longer.[1] The clergy,

Causes of his downfall.

Ottocar: *Des Herce, dieweil er lebt, so lobeleichen swebt. In Wurden und in hohen Breys, An Mildichait dhain Weis, Dhaine Kunig im mocht genosszen* (Petz, *Script. Rer. Austr.*, iii. 22). Manfred's monument is Manfredonia, which he founded near the ancient Siponto. His *Regesta* have been collected by Bartol. Capasso: *Histor. Diplom. Regni Siciliæ inde ab anno* 1250 *ad a.* 1266, Neap., 1874.

[1] *Bugiardo ciascem Pugliese*—Dante—*A suis sic proditus! . . . Regnicolarum imbecillis pusillanimitas*—Saba Malaspina—Apulia or

the greatest power in the superstitious country, were Manfred's enemies, and the cities, drained by taxation, were not friendly. They followed the universal tendency towards civic independence, a force which the Hohenstaufens did not take into account. On Charles's entry into the kingdom, says a Guelf historian, the minds of the people began to waver, to turn against Manfred and to be filled with joy. For all believed that the tranquillity so longed for would now return, and with the arrival of King Charles freedom would everywhere be restored.[1]

How this hope was fulfilled, what measure of prosperity Naples and Sicily enjoyed under the predatory hands of the Angevins, is written in the history of these countries. We merely cast a passing glance over the terrible shambles in Benevento, the peculiar city of the Pope, which Charles found himself obliged to surrender to his soldiers as the spoils of war. These "warriors of God" rushed from the battlefield to a city which was amicably disposed towards them, and, heedless of the entreaties of the clergy, who advanced in procession to meet them, massacred the innocent inhabitants without distinction for eight days, with the same fanatical fury as had distinguished their forefathers in the Albigensian war. They perpetrated such ruthless horrors, that Clement IV. uttered a shriek of despair and looked with wrath on the form which Charles,

Terrible slaughter in Benevento.

Regnicoli, as at the present day. Even in our times foreigners, Swiss, were the sole support of the royal throne of Naples.

[1] Saba Malaspina, p. 428.

the Maccabeus and champion of the Church, immediately began to assume.[1]

The conqueror was devoid of human feeling, a cold, taciturn tyrant. On the news of Manfred's fall, which she received in Luceria, Helena, his young and beautiful widow, had prepared for flight with her children. Deserted by the nobles in her distress, she escaped in the company of some noble-hearted men to the same Trani where, with magnificent pomp, she had been received as a royal bride in June 1259. She had here intended to take ship for Epirus, but stormy weather prevented her escape. Mendicant monks, sneaking through the country as spies, discovered her in the castle of Trani, terrified the soul of the castellan with representations of eternal tortures, and forced him to surrender his victim to Charles's cavalry (March 6). Helena died after a five years' imprisonment at Nocera, in February or March 1271, not yet twenty-nine years old. Her daughter Beatrix languished for eighteen years in the Castel dell' Uovo at Naples, and Helena's and Manfred's little sons, Henry, Frederick, and Enzio, grew and pined in the tortures of a three and thirty years' imprisonment, more wretched than their uncle in Bologna. Neither the Angevins nor the Aragons, when they entered on possession of the island of Sicily, felt themselves called on to release Manfred's lawful heirs from imprisonment.[2] The ruin of his

Helena, widow of Manfred, and her children taken prisoners.

[1] *Et hæc est retributio quam recepimus in principio.* Ep. 254, and Ep. 262 to Charles himself, of April 12.

[2] Documents concerning Helena in Forges Davanzati, *sulla seconda moglie*, &c. : in Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Alcuni studi storici intorno*

innocent family awakes indignation in every generous mind, but behind the scene of Trani stands (an almost unique instance in history) another of which it was the fateful reflex. It is that of the castle of Caltabellota in Sicily. Thither a queen, widowed and unfortunate like Helena, and, like Helena, with four children, had fled from a conqueror; Sibylla, wife of Tancred, the last Norman king. She and her children were cruelly loaded with chains; the perjured enemy, who exterminated the Norman house of Sicily amid cruelties such as were only paralleled by the actions of Charles of Anjou, was the Emperor Henry VI., Manfred's grandfather; and the time when Sibylla was imprisoned, when the noblest men of Palermo were barbarously strangled, was precisely the same Christmas season when the Empress Constance gave birth to Manfred's father.[1]

Charles of Anjou's entry into Naples.

Charles of Anjou made his entry into Naples, clad in splendid armour, and mounted on the same charger which he had ridden at Benevento. With him were the glittering knights of France and the victorious warriors of his army. The venal populace shouted acclamations, and strewed the path of the cavalcade with flowers; the venal barons of Apulia and the triumphant clergy greeted him with humility; the proud Queen Beatrix, who had now attained the summit of her ambition, rode in an open coach lined

a Manfredi (Naples, 1850), *Alcuni fatti riguard. Carlo I. di Angiò* (1252–1270), Napoli, 1874, and *Il regno di Carlo I. d'Angiò* (1271–1272), Napoli, 1875; particularly in Del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl.*, i., and *Don Arrigo Inf. di Castiglia*, Napoli, 1875.

[1] Among Charles's other prisoners Count Jordan of Anglano ended his days in a prison in Provence.

with blue velvet. Thus the French army entered Naples, and thus a people, incapable of freedom, received the foreign yoke of a despot, who had been imposed upon them by the Pope.[1]

The aim which the popes had cherished for years was attained; a new prince sat on the throne of Sicily, their instrument and their vassal; the rule of the Germans in Italy, the influence which they had exercised over the land and the Papacy for centuries, was extinguished; Romanism triumphed over Germanism. The German empire no longer existed. The heroic race of the Hohenstaufens was exterminated. Henry VI., Frederick II., Conrad IV., Manfred and other members of the race lay in their graves at Palermo, at Messina, at Cosenza, under the pyramid of stones at Benevento; Enzio was a prisoner at Bologna; Manfred's children in chains; Conradin alone, the last Hohenstaufen, was still alive, and still free but was poor, despised, and excluded from Italy. Clement IV. received the news of Charles's success with delight. All the bells of Perugia were rung; thanksgivings ascended to heaven, for Pharaoh's horses and towers were no more. Had the prophetic gift, however, removed the veil from the eyes of the Pope, he would have seen with dismay the consequences of his conduct in appalling apparitions; he would have beheld thirty-

[1] The first edict, which has been preserved, issued by Charles after Manfred's death, is dated from Dordona, on March 14, 1266; he commands that the coasts should be watched, *ut Theotonici, Lombardi ac Tusci Ghibellini, quum venerint in auxilium Manfredi jam interfecti, comprehendantur* (*Syllab. Membranar., ad Regiæ Siclæ Archivium pertinentium*, vol. i.).

seven years later a pope, his successor, taken by assault in his own palace, and maltreated by the minister of a French king; he would have seen the sacred chair of S. Peter removed to a country town of Provence, and occupied for seventy years by Frenchmen,—creatures and servants of their kings, —while Rome, deserted, fell to decay!

3. CHARLES RESIGNS THE SENATORIAL AUTHORITY—CONRAD BELTRAMI MONALDESCHI AND LUCA SAVELLI, SENATORS, 1266—DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN ROME UNDER ANGELO CAPOCCI—DON ARRIGO OF CASTILE, SENATOR, 1267—THE GHIBELLINES COLLECT IN TUSCANY—ENVOYS HASTEN TO GERMANY TO INVITE CONRADIN TO COME TO ROME — HE RESOLVES ON THE ENTERPRISE.

The fall of Manfred was also the overthrow of the Ghibellines throughout the whole of Italy, the greater number of whose cities recognised Charles as protector. The State of the Church was re-established after long hardships; the Pope, who again desired to be sole ruler in Rome, now demanded, in conformity with the treaty, Charles's resignation of the senatorial power. The King delayed, desired to retain the office for a time, and finally, with ill-concealed displeasure, explained to the Romans that he resigned his dignity in order not to give offence to the Church, which claimed to possess a right over the Senate. He renounced his office at the end of May 1266, and the Pope was soon called on to repent his conduct.[1]

Charles resigns the office of Senator, May 1266.

[1] Ep. 285, Viterbo, May 15, A. ii. The Pope (and this is

Clement IV. now hoped without further delay to recover his seignorial rights in Rome, Charles having bound himself by treaty to aid him in his design. Nevertheless, the city showed no disposition to make over the Senate to the Pope, or even to invite him to return. He had already left Perugia for Orvieto in April, and, ardently hoping to return to the Lateran, had thence gone to Viterbo, where he now remained. Rome stood at this time in no nearer relation to the sacred chair than the republics of Florence or Lucca. The Romans regarded the Pope's rights as extinct, while Charles never exerted himself to defend them. The office of Senator being now vacant, the Roman people, according to the ancient system, elected two Senators, Conrad Beltrami Monaldeschi of Orvieto and Luca Savelli of Rome.[1] They immediately demanded payment of the sums for which the property of the Church had been mortgaged to the Roman merchants, and the Pope called them robbers and thieves both inside and outside Rome.[2]

sufficiently noteworthy) remarks: *quod cum Rom. Pop. in possessione iam sit, et dudum fuerit ordinandi senatum, a possessione hujusmodi quantumlibet sit injusta, causa non cognita—dejicere non debebamus eumdem.* Charles's vicar was still in the city on May 12, and successfully resisted the rector of Campania, who had extorted the oath of fealty from places belonging to the city. Ep. 282.

[1] These Senators are recorded in the Capitoline register. That Luca, father of a later pope, was actually one of them, is shown by his epitaph in Aracœli: *Hic jacet Dns. Lucas de Sabello Pat. Dni. Ppe. Honorii Dni. Johis. et Dni. Pandulfi qui obiit dum esset Senator urbis A.D. MCCLXVI.*

[2] *Ecce Roma suæ reddita libertati in sua conversa jam viscera nescit legem. Duo facti sunt senatores, prædones et fures intus et extra libere debaccantur. Angimur enim ab eisdem, præcipue propter debita.* Ep. 310, Viterbo, June 15, 1266, to Cardinal Simon, whom he

An amnesty had brought many Ghibellines back to the city, where they again sat in parliament beside the Guelfs. Many of Manfred's adherents, such as Jacopo Napoleon of the Orsini, had made submission, though only outwardly, to the Pope. As the vanquished party recovered from its dismay, it set its ranks in order in Rome as well as in Tuscany, in Naples as in Lombardy, with the ability peculiar to Italian secret societies.[1] The insupportable arrogance of the Guelf nobility so deeply irritated the Roman people, that they rose as early as the first half of the year 1267, appointed a democratic government of twenty-six trusted men, and installed Angelo Capocci, a member of the Ghibelline party, as Captain of the People. Clement was forced to recognise this revolution; the Captain of the People even appealed to him, when the nobility (as it was said in Rome), incited by Viterbo, began to make war on the new government, and the Pope, protesting his innocence, sent two bishops to restore peace.[2]

Angelo Capocci, Captain of the People, 1267.

Capocci meanwhile, commissioned by the people

implores: *de ore leonum nos libera rugentium.* And Ep. 339, to the same, July 22: *nos vero te et Rom. Eccl. liberare satagas a Romanis.*

[1] The reaction began as early as the autumn of 1266. This is shown by one of Charles's letters, October 26, 1266; he reproaches the Pisans for having allowed Nicholas Malecta to equip galleys with Germans, in order to join Frederick Lancia and other rebels in Calabria. *Dat. Neap. XXVI. Oct. X. Ind. Regni nostri a II.* (*Reg.*, 1278, A. n. 29, fol. 4).

[2] *Sed dum quidam nob. civis Roman. Angelus Capucia—seditionem in Rom. Pop. suscitasset, per quam contra Urbis magnates Capitaneus populi, quibusdam bonis viris de qualibet regione binis electis secum adjunctis. . . .* Saba Malaspina, p. 834. Ep. 479: Clement IV. to Capocci (*capitaneo urbis Rome*), Viterbo, July 9, 1267.

to appoint a Senator, turned his eyes to the Spanish Infante, Don Arrigo, the son of Ferdinand III. of Castile and the younger brother of Alfonso the Wise, titular King of the Romans. The Infante was an adventurous hero of talent and princely ambition. Banished from his country as a rebel, he had made his abode in the English provinces of the south of France, and as early as 1257 had determined to take service under Henry III. in the expedition against Manfred. The undertaking, however, was never carried out. In 1259 he had gone to Africa in an English vessel, accompanied by his brother Frederick and other Spanish exiles, and had henceforward served under the ruler of Tunis in the wars against the Moors.[1] The revolution in South Italy enticed him to seek a new theatre for his ambition. He
1267. came to the court of Charles, his cousin, with two hundred Castilians, and was accorded an honourable though an unwilling reception. For Charles was his debtor for a large sum of money, the payment of which he delayed, and he strove with a good grace to free himself from his troublesome creditor. The Infante appeared alongside of James of Aragon as an aspirant to the crown of the island of Sardinia, which the Church declared to be her property, and which the republic of Pisa disputed. He went to the papal court in Viterbo, where he won the cardinals with the gold he had acquired in Tunis; Clement IV., however, was more disposed to settle his claims by an Aragonese marriage than to invest

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, i., i. 359, 388. Del Giudice, *Don Arrigo Infante di Castiglia, narrazione storica*, Napoli, 1875.

him with Sardinia, for which Charles was also a claimant. The King deceived his own cousin, secretly thwarting his wishes.[1]

The Infante was more successful as a candidate in Rome, where his doubloons opened him the gates of the Capitol. Capocci, the Captain of the People, turned the election in his favour, and the Romans willingly accepted as Senator a Castilian prince distinguished by military glory and by wealth, and from whom they expected a resolute defence against the arrogance of the nobility, as also against the claims of the Pope. The nobility, the majority of the cardinals, the Pope himself opposed the election, but without success. The temper of Rome had again become mainly Ghibelline, as soon as Charles of Anjou ascended the throne of Sicily. The Infante arrived from Viterbo in June 1267, to enter on the signory of the city, and thus, by a curious accident, two Spanish brothers were respectively King-elect and Senator of the Romans at the same time.[2]

Don Arrigo, Senator, 1267.

[1] Raynald, A. 1267, n. 17. The Pope made Etruria over to the Infante. *Arces, quæ in Etruria Ecclesiæ Rom. erant, tutandas subscepit.* Bonin., *Hist. Sic.*, p. 5. He, too, previously sought to get rid of him; Ep. 467, May 15, 1267. The Pope first wished to compound with Don Arrigo by means of a marriage, concerning which he held negotiations with him, with Charles, and with the Emperor Baldwin in October 1266. As his wife, the Pope had first selected a daughter of Michael, the Despot of Epirus, apparently Manfred's widow. Del Giudice, *op. cit.*, particularly the letters in the appendix. The project failed, because Charles would not give his consent. The Pope then wished Don Arrigo to marry a princess of Aragon.

[2] Arrigo was still at the court of Viterbo on May 15 (Ep. 467); on

The civic rule of Don Arrigo immediately attained a no slighter importance than that which had distinguished the rule of his predecessor Charles of Anjou. For scarcely had the Infante entered upon it, when his misunderstanding with the Pope began; he wished to make the whole of the Campagna subject to the Capitol, to take the jurisdiction from the clergy, and to bend the pride of the nobles. The Pope protested, the Senator paid no attention.[1] The people respected the prince, who at first showed himself just to both Guelfs and Ghibellines; but his bitter hatred of Charles, and events which suddenly occurred, soon enough impelled him to declare himself an open enemy of the ecclesiastical party.

The Ghibellines in Tuscany.

The adherents of Manfred and of the house of Swabia assembled in Tuscany, within which country had developed the new dragon's seed of two ancient factions, whose irreconcilable quarrel has impressed the history of Italy with the heroic character of fierce and mighty passion, and under whose forms and devices the Italians continued to

June 7 Angelo Capocci still ruled as *capitaneus* (Ep. 479). As early as July 2 Clement ordered the barons and communes in S. Peter's Patrimony to pay no attention to the demands of the Senator Arrigo. Brief, Viterbo, *VI. non. Julii*, in Pinzi, ii. 200. On July 26 he wrote to Arrigo himself as Senator (Ep. 508). According to the *Descriptio Vict.*, p. 849, Charles himself procured the office for the Infante. This, however, is a mistake.

[1] Ep. 514, Viterbo, July 30, 1267: the Pope writes to all the places in the Patrimony and in the Sabina, that they were not to render subjection to the Senator. Ep. 517, Viterbo, August 13, 1267: he complained of the Senator to Charles. Ep. 523, Viterbo, August 20, to the commune of Corneto, forbidding them to obey the Senator.

fight after the great contests between Church and empire had expired. To the imagination of that time the furious party warfare appears as the sinister work of the two demons Guelfa and Gebellia, who were indeed the furies of the Middle Ages. They did not make their first appearance in the time of Manfred; their origin is of older date, though not until after the fall of the Hohenstaufen rule did their savage influence assume the terrible character of the civil war, which severed the cities and provinces of Italy into two hostile divisions.[1] Pisa and Siena, Poggibonzi and San Miniato al Tedesco alone remained Hohenstaufen and Ghibelline after Manfred's fall. Count Guido Novello, who left Florence in dismay, collected German mercenaries and friends round the Swabian banner in Prato and other fortresses. Of Manfred's captains some had escaped from the battlefield of Benevento or from Apulian prisons; among them the brothers Galvan and Frederick Lancia, Conrad of Antioch, grandson of the Emperor Frederick and son-in-law of Galvan, Conrad and Marinus Capece, Neapolitan nobles, and Conrad Trincia of Foligno. The kingdom of Sicily sighed

[1] *Formæ geminæ mulierum super Tusciam — comparuerunt—pendentes ut nebula super terram—sed non vane hominum conjiciunt intellectus alteram—vocari posse Gebelliam, alteram vero Guelfam. Eae, ut ajunt, junctis brachiis invicem colluctantes.* . . . A great idea, worthy of Michael Angelo or Dante, clothed in the bombast of Saba Malaspina. Chroniclers have the most curious explanations for these party names; Jacopo Malvecci (*Chron.*, Mur., xiv. 903) brings the Ghibellines into connection with Etna (*Mon. Gibello*), since they had had their oracle there. Peter Azarius also (Mur., xvi. 299) derives the factions from the demons Gibel and Guelef.

under the yoke of its new rulers; trodden down under the feet of French tax-collectors, judges and bailiffs, defrauded of all its rights and privileges by Charles's despotism, it found itself in a condition compared to which the reign of Manfred seemed as a golden age. The people who had betrayed him now remembered his clemency, and called on him in vain. Even the Guelfs of the period describe the rule of the first Angevin with horror, and Clement IV., in celebrated letters, and under the form of fatherly admonition and well-meant counsels, has in a masterly manner depicted the form of a tyrant whom he hated.[1]

Apulian exiles fled to Tuscany, and explained that the kingdom was ripe for rebellion. Manfred's adherents saw his children languishing in chains, and incapable of defending their hereditary rights; they consequently fixed their desires on the last lawful heir of Sicily, Conradin, whom the Guelfs had previously invited to Italy against the usurper Manfred.

Conradin the legitimate heir of Sicily.

The son of Conrad IV., born March 25, 1252, at the castle of Wolfstein near Landshut, was fourteen years old at the time of his uncle's fall, and when a conqueror seated himself upon the throne, which, according to hereditary right, was his indisputable property. He remained under the protection of his

[1] Ep. 380, 471, and 504: *onerosus ecclesiis et regnicolis universis, nec suis nec exteris gratiosus—nec visibilis—nec adibiles—nec affabilis—nec amabilis.* The Apulians exclaimed: *O rex Manfrede, te vivum non cognovimus, quem nunc mortuum deploramus; te lupum credebamus rapacem—sed præsentis respectu dominii—agnum mansuetum te fuisse cognoscimus.* Saba, p. 832.

uncouth uncle, Lewis of Bavaria, and of his mother Elizabeth, the sister of this duke, who in 1259 had married for the second time, and whose husband was Meinhard, Count of Görz. The imperial crown hovered for a moment over the head of Conradin, but the Pope, who refused to decide the controversy between Alfonso and Richard, in order that Germany might be fretted by the contest of parties, and Italy be left without an emperor, forbade the election of the last legitimate scion of the race of Hohenstaufen. Nothing remained to Conradin but the empty title of King of Jerusalem, and his much reduced duchy of Swabia. He grew up in Bavaria and fed his intellect with the songs of native singers and with stirring pictures of the heroic greatness and the fall of his house.

Political history contains few such touching pages as those which record the fate of this youth, who, the last of his heroic race, was led by the power of an inherited destiny to Italy to be sacrificed on the grave of his ancestors. Ghibelline envoys from Pisa and Verona, from Pavia and Siena, from Luceria and Palermo, came as early as 1266 to Constance, Augsburg or Landshut. In the following year came the brothers Lancia and Capece to incite "the scarce-fledged eagle" to flight. They were, according to the fine simile of the Guelf Malaspina, like those messengers who brought gold, incense, and myrrh to the future king.[1] They promised him the support

He is summoned by the Ghibellines of Italy.

[1] *In Alamaniam ad suscitandum catulum dormientem, et pullum aquilæ, qui nondum ætate cœperat adulta pennescere, propere se convertunt. Qui sibi tamquam Regi venturo aurum, thus offerebant et Myrram. Ibid.*, pp. 832, 833.

of Italy, if he would unfurl the banner of the empire on the Alps, and would come to deliver the land of his glorious fathers from the hated tyranny.

As the grandson of the great Frederick saw these Italians do homage at his feet, as he listened to their wondrous speeches and received handsome presents, —pledges of their promises,—he was carried away in a transport of enthusiasm. The voices of sirens enticed him to the lovely and fatal land, the historic paradise of German desire, whence his illustrious fathers seemed to cry to him for vengeance from their graves. His mother opposed his wishes, his uncles and friends consented to the project. A report spread across the Alps that the youthful son of Conrad IV. was equipping an army to descend on Italy, to hurl the tyrant Charles from the throne and to restore the Swabian rule.

CHAPTER III.

1. The Ghibellines prepare for Conradin's Expedition—Charles, as Head of the Guelf League, goes to Florence—Revolt of Sicily and Apulia—Don Arrigo espouses the Cause of the Ghibellines—Guido of Montefeltre, Prosenator — Conradin descends on Italy — Galvan Lancia in Rome — The Senator seizes the Guelf Leaders—League between Rome, Pisa, Siena and the Ghibellines of Tuscany.

Conradin sent letters and manifestos to Italy and even to Rome, in which he announced that he was coming to claim the rights of his ancestors and called himself King of Sicily. The Pope consequently instituted a suit against him in Viterbo; he published this document and at the same time a bull, in which he forbade the electors of Germany ever to elect Conradin King of the Romans and threatened all his adherents with excommunication.[1]

"I do not lay much stress," wrote Clement IV. in October 1266, "on the envoys whom the Ghibellines

[1] *Primus Processus contra Conradinum, Viterbii in cathedrali eccl.*, November 18, 1266. Simultaneously, the bull *Fundata domus.* The Pope calls Conradin *unica scintilla* of the house of Frederick. Potthast, n. 19,815. Posse, *Anal. Vat.*, n. 556, and text in the Appendix, p. 141.

have sent to their idol, the boy Conradin; I am too well acquainted with his position; it is so pitiable, that he can do nothing either for himself or his adherents."[1] But in the spring of 1267 the reports became more decided, the demeanour of the Ghibellines in Tuscany more threatening. On April 10 the Pope wrote to the Florentines. "A poisonous basilisk has arisen from the stock of the dragon, which already fills Tuscany with his pestilential breath; he sends forth to cities and nobles a brood of vipers, men of destruction, the accomplices of his schemes, traitors to us and to the vacant empire as to the illustrious King Charles; with his lying artifices he parades himself in glittering splendour and endeavours, now by entreaties, now by gold, to seduce men from the ways of truth. Such is the heedless boy Conradin, the grandson of Frederick, sometime Emperor of the Romans, excommunicate by the just sentence of God and of His vicar; his instruments are the infamous men Guido Novello, Conrad Trincia, and Conrad Capece, with several others, who desire to set up this vile idol in Tuscany, and who acquire German mercenaries both secretly and openly in order to form alliances and conspiracies."[2] On April 14 the Pope issued a second citation to Conradin, requiring him to defend himself before his tribunal.[3]

[1] Ep. 392, Viterbo, October 16, to the legate in the March.

[2] *De radice colubri venenosus egressus regulus, suis jam inficit flatibus partes Tusciæ.* . . . Ep. 450, Viterbo, April 10, 1267. Such was the shape in which the noble grandson of Frederick II. appeared to the Pope.

[3] Posse, n. 569.

The Ghibellines in truth displayed great activity. Conrad Capece, returned from Swabia, already entered Pisa as vicar of Conradin, in whose name he issued letters. Pisa and Siena were willing to further the courageous enterprise; the conspirators in Apulia and Sicily stood ready, and the Romans showed themselves favourable. As the danger assumed a more serious character, the Pope and Charles discussed together how to meet it. Apulian troops under Guido de Montfort at once marched to Tuscany and occupied Florence, whither they were summoned by the Guelfs. Charles came himself at the end of April to Viterbo, where he held long consultations with the Pope, and then followed his troops to Florence.[1] Florence, Pistoja, Prato, and Lucca at once confided the signory to his hands for six years. The great increase of his power was highly inconvenient to the Pope, who was nevertheless obliged to accept it with a good grace; and in order to palliate by a title the illegal invasion of Tuscany (an imperial territory), he even named Charles "Restorer of the Peace," as if during the vacancy of the empire he had the right to do so.[2]

The Ghibellines assemble in Tuscany.

While the Ghibellines defended themselves against

[1] On May 27, 1267, in Viterbo, he concluded a treaty with the ex-emperor Baldwin, who ceded Achaia to him. Philip, Baldwin's son, was to marry Charles's daughter Beatrix.

[2] *Paciarium generalem* . . . as early as April 10, Ep. 450, to the Florentines. *Pacis restaurator in Tuscia* (Ep. 512, Viterbo, July 28, 1267). On May 2, 1268, he informed William of Thuringia, the preacher monk, of this appointment, Böhmer, *Acta Imp. Sel.*, 987. Pisa and Alfonso X. protested. On May 11 the Pope wrote that Charles had passed by Viterbo on his way to Florence, and had assumed the rectorship of the Guelf cities (Ep. 464).

Charles's troops in Poggibonzi and other fortresses, the growing rebellion in Sicily and Apulia raised their courage. Capece, who had hastened in a Pisan vessel to Tunis, had persuaded Frederick of Castile, brother of the Senator Arrigo and a former adherent of Manfred, who had remained behind there, to risk an attack on Sicily. These courageous men landed with some hundred companions at Sciacca in the beginning of September 1267. The greater part of the island rose on their arrival and proclaimed Conradin King. The revolt spread to Apulia; the Saracens of Luceria, who had already raised the banner of Swabia on February 2, 1267, awaited Frederick's grandson with impatience. The skilfully laid plans of the Ghibellines thus prevented Charles from going to Lombardy to intercept Conradin's progress.

The Ghibellines rise in Sicily.

With consternation he saw Rome, where he had been Senator but a short time before, in the power of Don Arrigo, the cousin who was his enemy, and who had already openly declared in favour of the Ghibellines.[1] The Capitol would serve Conradin (who was approaching) as a basis of operations against Sicily, as well as it had served himself for the same purpose against Manfred. He advised the Pope by artificial disturbances to overthrow the Infante of Castile;

The Senator Don Arrigo declares in favour of the Ghibellines.

[1] Arrigo once exclaimed: *per lo cor Dio, o el mi matrà, o io il matrô* (Villani, vii. c. 10). He also gave vent to his passionate hatred in a song, of which we shall later have to speak:—

Mora per Dio chi ma trattato mortte,
E chi tiene lo mio acquisto in sua Ballia
Come guideo. . . .

but Clement found no one in Rome disposed to further such a scheme; on the contrary, he admitted that the powerful Senator was dreaded on all sides "like a thunderbolt."[1] Don Arrigo ruled with energy and ability, supported by his vicar, whom (following Charles's example) he had installed on the Capitol. The vicar was Guido of Montefeltre, lord of Urbino, like his ancestors a zealous Ghibelline, a man who soon made Italy re-echo with his name, who was esteemed the greatest general of his age, and to whom at Augsburg in August Conradin had promised rich fiefs in Sicily.[2] Several fortresses in Roman territory were occupied by the civic militia; in August Don Arrigo seized the important stronghold of Castro on the frontiers of the kingdom; he strove to acquire influence in Corneto, and in September took Sutri, whence he could stretch out a hand to the Ghibellines of Tuscany. The Pope strove in vain to effect a reconciliation between the Senator and Charles, and no less ineffectual were his

[1] *Quamvis—tui nuncii dixerint, quod barandum esset in Urbe dissidium: scias tamen nos adhuc nullum aditum invenisse. Pars enim non confidit de parte, et ambæ timent Senatorem ut fulgur.* To Charles, Viterbo, September 17, 1267, Ep. 532.

[2] In a document of the Capitol of November 18, 1267, he is called *Egregius vir Dom. Guido Comes de Monteferetro et Gazolo, Vicarius in urbe pro superillustri viro Domino Henrico . . . Senatore* (Archives of Siena, n. 869). I do not believe that Guido entered Rome for the first time with Galvan Lancia on October 18, since nowhere are the two mentioned together. As early as August 1267 Conradin calls him *nunc almæ urbis vicarius*. See the Privilegium granted to him, dated *ap. civ. Augustæ a.* 1267 *m. Aug. Ind. X.*, published by Wüstenfeld (Pflugk-Hartung, *Iter. Ital.*, section ii. p. 688).

exhortations to the barons of the patrimony to remain faithful to the Church.[1]

In the beginning of October the report arrived in Rome that Conradin had departed for Italy. And so indeed it was. The young prince had converted his hereditary possessions into money, had with difficulty equipped an army, and had set forth on his march through Tyrol. His hazardous enterprise was precisely the reverse of that which his grandfather had undertaken in the beginning of his glorious career. For the youthful Frederick had left Sicily to fight against a Guelf emperor for the German crown of his ancestors; his grandson now came from Germany to Sicily to wrest Frederick's Italian crown from a usurper. Frederick had torn himself from the arms of a wife who sought to dissuade him; Conradin from the arms of a mother who foresaw misfortune. The Church, however, had lent her support to Frederick, but the papal bull had forbidden Conradin to enter Italy, or to lay claim to the heritage of his grandfather. Conradin left Bavaria in September 1267, accompanied by his uncle Duke Lewis, his step-father Meinhard of Tyrol, Rudolf of Habsburg, the cup-bearer Conrad of Limpurg, Conrad of Frundsberg, Albert of Neiffen, Kroff of Flüglingen, and several other nobles from Germany and Tyrol. Finally he was attended by Frederick, son of Hermann of Baden, the last of the Babenberg

Conradin departs for Italy, Sept. 1267.

[1] Ep. 518 to Charles, Viterbo, August 13, 1267. Ep. 523 to the people of Corneto, August 20, 1267. Ep. 532 to Charles, September 17, concerning Sutri. Ep. 534 to Peter of Vico, September 21. He calls him, as does Saba Malaspina, *Petrus Romani Proconsul.*

claimants to the dukedom of Austria. The similarity of the circumstances of his orphaned youth, his misfortunes, and his enthusiastic friendship made him Conradin's brother-in-arms. On October 21 Frederick's grandson, with 3000 knights and other soldiers, entered Ghibelline Verona, where his father Conrad IV. had been received by Ezzelino and Obert Palavicini fourteen years before.

Galvan Lancia enters Rome, Oct. 18, 1267.

Two days earlier, on October 18, Galvan Lancia, Manfred's uncle, had entered Rome with the banner of the house of Swabia. He came as Conradin's plenipotentiary to conclude an alliance with the city. The Ghibellines received the representative of the Hohenstaufen emperor with great rejoicings; the Senator greeted him with public honours, assigned him a dwelling in the Lateran, and at a solemn sitting on the Capitol received Conradin's embassy. The Pope, on hearing of these occurrences, broke into a passion. "I have learnt," he wrote to the Roman clergy, on October 21, "news that fills me with astonishment and horror, that Galvan Lancia, the son of damnation and formerly one of the most ruthless persecutors of the Church, entered Rome on the feast of S. Luke; that in scorn of the Pope he dared to unfold the banner of Conradin, of the poisonous race of Frederick, and with insolent pomp has occupied the Lateran, which even just men are scarcely worthy to enter." He consequently commanded that Galvan should be cited before the tribunal of the Church.[1] Neverthe-

[1] *Cod. Vatican.*, 6223, fol. 149. *Rectorib. Romanensis Fraternitatis: De Vultu glor. Ap. Principis rubor injurie—consurgit.* . . .

less Conradin's legate was honoured in every way; he was ceremoniously invited to the public games at Monte Testaccio, which were given with unwonted splendour.[1]

In order to silence every contradictory voice, the Senator resolved to rid himself of all the heads of the Guelf party at one stroke. Such were esteemed Napoleon, Matthew and Raynald Orsini, the brothers Pandulf and John Savelli, Richard Petri Anibaldi, Angelo Malabranca, Peter Stephani, some of whom were brothers or nephews of cardinals. He invited these men to a conference on the Capitol in the middle of November; when they appeared they were taken prisoners. Napoleon and Matthew were conveyed to the rock fortress of Saracinesco; John Savelli, formerly Senator, a just and noble man, gave his son Luca as hostage, and was released. Raynald Orsini alone did not respond to the invitation, but fled. Terror seized the Guelfs; many escaped to their fortresses, but Rome remained

This *Fraternitas Romana* comprised the entire clergy of the city under twelve rectors: they assembled in *S. Tommaso in Parione*, and in *S. Salvator in Pensilis* by the Circus Flaminius. M. Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1887, p. 24 f. The Pope was all the more indignant because he had protected Galvan when a fugitive from Calabria and, through the Bishop of Terracina, had given him absolution, under condition that he would serve him in the East. Reports in the *Vat. Cod.*, fol. 148. The decree of the bishop was issued *A.* 1267, *Ind. X. temp. D. Clementis IV. PP. Pont. ejus a. II. m. Febr. die V.*

[1] Again in the following year the Pope complained: *præfatum Galvanum ad eorum ludos, ut ipsis illuderet, venientem non solum pari, sed majori fastu—receperunt et munificentius honorarunt.* Raynald, *ad ann.* 1268, n. 21.

quiet and obedient to the Senator.[1] The Pope protested; he placed the prisoners, the cardinals who were related to them and their estates, under the protection of the Church; and he demanded—although with prudence and moderation—satisfaction from the Senator and from the city commune.[2]

Don Arrigo also banished the families of these nobles, caused their houses to be torn down, and fortified the Vatican, in which he placed Germans.[3] The alliance with Conradin was publicly proclaimed from the Capitol.[4] The Senator himself invited the prince to Rome. A brave warrior and a troubadour at the same time, Don Arrigo addressed some vigorous verses to Conradin, and it was possibly during these days, and amid the din of Ghibelline arms, that he wrote the song which is still preserved. He therein expresses his hatred of Charles, the robber of

Don Arrigo summons Conrad to Rome.

[1] Saba, pp. 834, 835; *ad instar piscium—uno tractu retium capiuntur*. This took place before November 16, 1267, when the Pope protested against it, but not before November 13, when he still wrote in friendly terms to the Senators (Ep. 554). Ep. 558, November 20, to Charles; Ep. 559 to the Cardinal of S. Adrian, November 23; Ep. 561, 563, November 26.

[2] Ep. 556, Viterbo, November 16, 1267, in which he already says of Henry: *publicum Ecclesiæ et—Caroli—hostem, ac manifestum ejusdem Corradini se fautorem exhibuit.*

[3] On April 11, 1271, Charles of Anjou, as Senator of Rome, ordered the houses and towers of the brothers John and Pandulf Savelli, which (at the instigation of Peter Romani de Cardinali and of Stephen Alberti Normanni) Arrigo of Castile had caused to be pulled down, to be restored at the expense of the guilty. C. Min. Riccio, *Sagg. di Cod. Dipl.*, i. n. 83.

[4] This happened after November 16, and not as Cherrier, iv. 168, following the *Reg. Clem. IV.*, lib. iv. n. 3, fol. 248, asserts, in the beginning of November.

his property, and his hope for the fall of the French lilies; he exhorts Conradin to take possession of the beautiful garden Sicily, and by a bold and truly Roman deed to seize the crown of empire.[1]

Envoys from Pisa, Siena, and the Ghibelline league of Tuscany had arrived in Rome to conclude a formal alliance with the city. On November 18 the great and little Councils, the Consuls of the Merchants, and the Priors of the Guilds assembled in Aracœli, under the presidency of the Prosenator Guido of Montefeltre. Jacopo, chancellor of the city, was elected Syndic of the Romans, and entrusted with the power of concluding the treaty with the Tuscan commissioners.[2] The same day the

[1] *Alto valore chagio visto impartte*
Siati arimproccio lo male chai sofertto.
Pemsati in core che te rimasto impartte.
E come te chiuso cio che tera apertto.
Raquista in tutto lo podere ercolano.
Nom prendere partte se puoi avere tutto.
E membriti come fecie male frutto
Chi male contiva terra chæ a sua mano.
Alto giardino di loco Ciciliano
Tal giardinetto ta preso in condotto,
Che tidra gioia di cio cavei gran lutto.
A gran corona chiede da romano.

The canzone (five strophes and an *envoi*) is found in the *Cod. Vat.*, 3793, fol. 53*b*, a celebrated collection of romances of *sæc.* 13 and 14; it is inscribed *donnarigo.*

[2] Concerning this, see two remarkable documents in the Archives of Siena, n. 869: *In nom. dom. Am. Ann. a nativ. ejusd.* 1267 *die Veneris XVIII. Novbr. Ind. XI. more Romano generale et spec. consilium communis Rome factum fuit in Ecc. S. Marie de Capitolio per vocem preconum et sonum campane de hominib. ipsor. consilior. more solito congregatum convocatis etiam convenientib. ad dict. consilium consulibus mercatorum et capitibus artium Urbis Rome. In quo quid.*

Pope pronounced the excommunication against Conradin, Pisa, Siena, and the Ghibellines of Tuscany, and sent the sentence to the Roman clergy, in order that it might be proclaimed; but he did not venture to impose either the interdict on Rome or the ban on the Senator. "I avoid," he wrote, on November 23, "as much as I can, war with the Romans, but I fear that to me and the King of Sicily nought else will remain."

League between Rome and the Ghibellines of Tuscany, Dec. 1, 1267.

On December 1, the offensive and defensive alliance between Rome, Pisa, Siena, and the Ghibelline party in Tuscany was concluded in the palace of the Quattro Coronati, where the Senator dwelt at this time. The express purpose of the treaty, in which Conradin's rights were preserved, was the ruin of Charles and of his power in Tuscany. After the Guelf cities there had made him signor for six years, after the Pope had named him the Prince of Peace, the Ghibellines put forward Don Arrigo as a rival, appointing the Spaniard captain-general of their confederation for five years. They undertook to pay his retinue,—200 mounted Spaniards,—and the

consilio seu quib. Egregius vir Dom. Guido comes de Monteferetro et Gazolo vicarius in urbe pro superill. viro D. Henr. filio qnd. D. Fernandi seren. Castelle regis Senatore ipsius urbis. . . . The Parliament approves the league with Siena, Pisa, and the Ghibellines of Tuscany, and the granting of full powers to a Roman Syndic: *Act. Rome In Eccl. S. M. de Capitolio. Ibi vero D. Azo Guidonis Bovis prothojudex et consiliarius dicti D. Senatoris. D. Angelus Capucius. D. Rofredus de Parione. D. Crescentius leonis. Johes Judicis et alii plerique interfuerunt rogati testes. Et Ego Palnerius de monticello civis parmensis Imp. Auct. notarius* . . . *scripsi—Nro.* 870: under the same date *Jacobus cancellarius urbis* is elected *nuncius, procurator, actor et sindicus* of the Roman people.

Senator promised to place 2000 men at the service of the Ghibelline league.[1]

The heads of the Roman Guelfs were meanwhile in prison or banishment; Raynald Orsini alone had escaped to Marino in the Latin Mountains, and was there besieged by the Senator with a military force. But as the Senator met with no success, all whom he suspected, laymen as well as clergy, had to expiate his wrath. He required money to prepare for Conradin. He took the deposita from the Roman convents, in which, according to a very ancient custom, not only Romans but also foreigners kept their valuables. He broke open the treasuries of several churches, and robbed them of their vestments and vessels. Much property was thus accumulated. As the rumour now arose that Don Arrigo had

[1] Archives of Siena, n. 871; a large parchment in a very neat hand. The syndics of Pisa and Siena, and the *pars Ghibellina de Tuscia* (Pistoja, Prato, Poggibonzi, San Miniato, &c.) appoint *in Tuscia Capitaneum gen. Excel. Magnif. et Ill. Vir. D. Henrigum—nunc A. U. Senatorem—per spatium quinque annor. salvis in omnib. pred. honorib. ill. Regis Corradi.* The league between Pisa and Venice is secured: *Act. Urbi in palatio SS. quatuor Coronatorum, ubi idem D. Capitan. morabatur, presentib. D. Accone Judice. Guidoni Bov. de Parma. D. Uguiccione Judice. D. Janni Mainerio. Magistro Vitagli de Aversa. Mariscopto notario. D. Marito de Florentia. D. Ormano de Pistorio. D. Ugolino Belmonti et de Uberto Judice de Senis sub A.D. Mill. CCLXVII. Ind. XI., prima die Kal. Dec. sec. curssum Alme Urbis. Ego Usimbardus olim Boninsegne. . . .* In a second document the cities pledge themselves to defend their rights, and Henry and his adherents, *et ad domanium Imperii in Tuscia acquirendum et occupandum. . . .* Henry pledges himself to tolerate no exercise of Charles's authority in these cities. *Actum ut supra.* A third document contains the treaty between these cities and Rome, measures for the security of trade, guarantees of their rights, and the abolition of reprisals. *Actum ut supra.*

determined to make an armed inroad into Apulia, the Pope summoned Charles to return promptly, while he himself thought of leaving Viterbo and repairing to Umbria.[1] He now voluntarily expressed a wish that Charles should again become Senator of Rome, in which case he would release him from his former oath. He wrote to Don Arrigo, complaining of the reception of Galvan, of the alliance with the Ghibellines of Tuscany, and of the outrages committed on the Roman nobles, and threatened him with the severest penalties of the Church.[2]

2. EVIL PLIGHT OF CONRADIN IN NORTH ITALY—HE REACHES PAVIA—CHARLES GOES TO THE POPE AT VITERBO—BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION—CONRADIN'S RECEPTION IN PISA—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF CHARLES AGAINST ROME—CONRADIN'S FIRST VICTORY—HIS MARCH TO ROME—HIS TRIUMPHANT RECEPTION—HEADS OF THE GHIBELLINE PARTY—DEPARTURE FROM ROME—BATTLE OF TAGLIACOZZO—CONRADIN'S VICTORY AND DEFEAT.

Conradin, meanwhile, was seeking means in Verona to support his army, to form an alliance with the

[1] Bonincontrius (*Hist. Sic.*, p. 5) says that Henry actually made the expedition, occupied Aversa and captured the Abruzzi as far as Aquila; but since the Pope is silent on the subject, the statement may be taken for what it is worth.

[2] Ep. 568, December 17, to Charles: *scias fili, quod si potes senatum Urbis acquirere ad tempus competens, tolerabimus.* Ep. 569, December 19: threatening letter to Henry; he writes still more strongly in Ep. 572, December 28; Ep. 573, December 30, but always with the superscription *dil. filio nob. viro . . . Senatori urbis.*

cities, and to make possible the march to Tuscany. His destitution was no less than Charles's had formerly been. He was deserted by a portion of his unpaid troops. His uncle Lewis and his step-father Meinhard, whose debtor he was for large sums, and to whom he had been obliged to mortgage his hereditary property, returned to Germany in 1268, where they were moreover called by the affairs of the Hohenstaufen party.[1] The resolution with which Conradin overcame such tremendous difficulties shows that he was worthy of his ancestors. Against all expectation, he succeeded in continuing his progress through the midst of an enemy's country, just as Charles's army had formerly succeeded in traversing Italy. The entire undertaking seems but the repetition of that of Charles, who was now forced to play the part of Manfred. Conradin reached Pavia on January 20, 1268, and here remained, perplexed as ever, until March 22.

Conradin enters Pavia, 1268.

Charles burned with impatience to advance against him ; after a prolonged siege he had reduced Poggibonzi, the chief fortress of the Ghibellines, to surrender, and had even compelled Pisa to make peace. Had he advanced and forced Conradin to an open battle before he reached Rome, he might, perhaps, have brought the war to an end on the Po. The Pope, however, tortured by the fear of losing Sicily (all the more that Calabria, Apulia, and the Abruzzi had risen in revolt), implored him to return to his kingdom ; since, did he lose this, he could not hope that the Church would again undertake the work of

[1] F. Schirrmacher, *Die letzten Hohenstaufen*, p. 351.

Sisyphus on his account; more probable was it that she would leave him to his disgrace, an exile in Provence. The King saw his kingdom in flames behind him, and leaving the marshal, John de Brayselve, with some troops in Tuscany, he returned homewards. On April 4 he met the Pope in Viterbo.[1]

Here Clement repeated the excommunication against Conradin and Lewis of Bavaria, the Count of Tyrol and all the heads of the Ghibellines. He even laid under the ban the lands and cities which had given, or would give, shelter to the enemy. The interdict affected Pisa, Siena, Verona, and Pavia; Don Arrigo, Guido of Montefeltre, the magistrates of the Capitol, all Romans who had received Conradin's envoys were excommunicated; the city was threatened with the interdict, while the Romans were released from the oath to their Senator, and Charles was empowered, in case the Senator did not make subjection within a month, to resume the government of the city for ten years.[2]

The Pope excommunicates the Ghibellines.

While these anathemas were announced at Viterbo, Pisa resounded with a thousand jubilant voices;

[1] Clement frequently complains that Charles does not return home; more especially on March 28 (Raynald, n. iii.). This date alone might have shown Cherrier (iv. 183) that Charles did not arrive at Viterbo on March 25. Ep. 620, the Pope writes on April 12: *quarta feria ante festum pascalis hebdomæ regem læti suscepimus.* In 1268, however, Easter Sunday fell on April 8.

[2] Raynald, *ad ann.* 1268, n. 4, *Cod. Vat.*, 4957, fol. 98. *Actum in Palatio nostro Viterbiensi in die Cene Domini, Pontif. nri. ann. quarto.* The bulls of excommunication against the Senator and the Romans are given in Raynald, n. 21. Bull, Viterbo, April 3 (Cherrier, iv. 531): *ut pacificum urbis statum habeat, et nobis ac nostris fratribus accessus pateat ad eamdem, quam nondum visitare potuimus.*

Conradin enters Pisa, April 5, 1268.

the young grandson of Frederick II. safely reached the harbour with 500 knights, in vessels belonging to the republic. Conradin made his way from Pavia through the territories of the Margrave of Caretto, husband of a natural daughter of Frederick, reached the sea at Vado near Savona, and there embarked on March 29. He had entrusted his troops to Frederick of Baden, who successfully led them over the mountains of Pontremoli, and through the Lunigiana to Pisa in the beginning of May. Within this republic the young pretender met his first solemn recognition, and a well-equipped fleet ready to sail either for Rome or the coasts of South Italy. Charles, uncertain as to Conradin's next move, now resolved to return to his kingdom, to subjugate the rebels, more especially the Saracens of Luceria, and to await the attack of the enemy in his own country, as Manfred had previously done. From Viterbo, however, he attempted a sortie on Rome : a portion of his troops, with some exiled Guelfs, among them the Count of Anguillara and Matteo Rubeus Orsini, even entered the city ; but the Senator drove them out, and Charles was thus induced to retire from the city.[1] He left Viterbo on April 30, after the Pope had appointed him vicar of the empire in Tuscany. This dignity, and the renewal of the senatorship, were important concessions, which were destined to bring forth good fruit for him in the future.[2]

[1] *Senator—cum Jacopo de Napoliono et Petro de Vico et Anibalibus et Pop. Romano prelium incipientes cum ipsis qui intraverant, ceperunt et interfecerunt ex ipsis circa M. milites* (*Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 526).

[2] Ep. 625, February 19. In his dispute with Lewis the Bavarian

Conradin's first success.

Conradin found powerful support both in Pisa and Siena;[1] envoys from the Capitol summoned him to Rome, where Galvan awaited him, and where the resources of the Senator promised him an increase of strength.[2] The State of the Church was in a ferment; Fermo and the Marches were in revolt; one decisive advantage, and the greater part of Italy would declare in favour of Conradin. A fleet was equipped in Pisa before the eyes of the young prince, in which Frederick Lancia, Richard Filangieri, Marino Capece, and other brave men were to sail against Naples and Calabria. It actually departed, and the Ghibellines attacked the island of Ischia in August.[3] On June 15, Conradin himself marched from Pisa to Siena, and there remained until the middle of July, received with honour by the burghers of the wealthy city, and joyfully provided with the means of war. A victory of his troops at Ponte a Valle, where Charles's marshal, John de Brayselve,

in 1324, John XXII. appealed to this appointment (Martene, *Thesaur. Anec.*, ii. 650). The other dates in Ep. 620, 630.

[1] On May 14 he acknowledged the receipt of 4200 ounces of gold to Siena (Archives of Siena, n. 874). His diploma for Pisa of June 14 (a beautiful document in the Florentine Archives) and that for Siena of July 7 (in the Siennese Archives, and bearing on a wax seal, CHVNRADVS DEI GR . . . the figure crowned and holding the orb) are well known.

[2] On May 27, 1268, the Senator acknowledged the receipt of 2500 pounds Provins to Siena: *Actum Rome in palatio D. Pape prope S. Petrum præsentibus D. Galvagno Lancea Fundorum ac Principatus comite. D. Jacobo Napoleonis. D. Pandulfo Tedalli. D. Aczone Guidonis Bovis. D. Marito Domini Sclacte uberti. Usimbardo notario. Et ego Johes Jacobi Interapne . . .* (Archives of Siena, n. 875).

[3] Minieri Riccio, *Studi stor. su fasc. Angioini* (1863), p. 53.

was taken prisoner on June 25, encouraged his hopes. The way to Rome was free. Clement IV. had summoned troops from Perugia and Assisi to Viterbo, but merely for his defence, and here awaited the onward march of the last Hohenstaufen.[1] In vain he had exhorted the Romans not to forsake the Church; his letters reveal that he was seriously anxious for the first time; but the mind of the priest was unshaken by fear. "He would pass by like smoke," he said, speaking of Conradin, and compared him to a lamb led to the block by the Ghibellines. From the walls of Viterbo he could perceive the lines of troops, as without threatening himself they marched across the plain near Toscanella on July 22.

He passes by Viterbo and advances to Rome.

Conradin advanced by the Via Cassia, past Vetralla, Sutri, Monterosi, and ancient Veii to Rome. Five thousand well-mounted cavalry followed him, and with him were Frederick of Baden, Count Gerard Donoratico of Pisa, Conrad of Antioch, and several of the leading Ghibellines of Italy. From the heights of Monte Mario the boy's intoxicated glance swept across the great Roman Campagna, which stretched grave and solemn below, encompassed by lovely ranges of mountains and traversed by the glistening Tiber, flowing, as it neared the Milvian bridge, between hills of tufa covered with ruins; while on the towers of Rome the blue sphere of heaven itself seemed to rest in splendour. His gaze discovered the white streets of Tivoli on the

[1] On July 13 he wrote to Assisi: *cum immineat juxta nos transitus Conradini infra diem Lunæ vel diem Martis proximum, prout creditur consummandus. . . .* Ep. 675.

foremost height of the Sabina; there, he was told, was the theatre of Frederick and Manfred's undertakings. He was shown ancient Prænestе in the distance; only five weeks later and he sat in chains within its Cyclopean fortress! And there, where a broad valley opened between the ranges of the Alban and Apennine mountains, the meadows of Latium were pointed out, and there, it was said, lay the road by which Charles of Anjou had reached the Liris.

Conradin's excited imagination pictured the long series of emperors, while the majestic aspect of the city, as well as the magnificent sight of the Roman people, who from Ponte Molle to the Triumphal Way on the slopes of Monte Mario crowded to bid him welcome, moved him to enthusiasm, as it had formerly moved Otto II. and III. The Senator had prepared him an imperial reception, and, according to the admission of the Guelf Malaspina, Rome was imperialist by inclination.[1] Frequently and obstinately though the Romans had made war on the German emperor, the ideas of the empire nevertheless continued to exercise their spell upon the people. They received the grandson of the great Frederick with genuine honour as the legitimate representative of the imperial authority. All Romans capable of bearing arms awaited him—their helmets crowned with flowers—in bands ranged for military games on the Field of Nero. The people carried flowers and branches of

[1] *Priusquam tamen Urbem Conradinus intræat, ejusdem Urbis Populus, qui naturaliter Imperialis existit, adventus Conradini diem constituit celebrem et solennem*, p. 842.

olive and sang songs of rejoicing. As Conradin made his entry through the gates of the fortress and across the bridge of S. Angelo on July 24, he found Rome transformed into a theatre of festive triumph. The crowded streets were spanned by ropes, stretched from house to house, from which draperies, rare vestments and valuable ornaments were hung, while choirs of Roman girls danced their national dances to the music of lyres and cymbals.[1] The Guelf Malaspina acknowledged that Charles's reception was far behind the festivities with which Conradin was greeted. It was Ghibelline Rome that of its own accord did him honour.[2] The enthusiastic boy stood for a moment at the summit of earthly grandeur.

Conradin's magnificent entry into Rome, July 24, 1268.

He was led to the Capitol and acclaimed as future emperor. He made his dwelling either here or in the palace of the Lateran. The heads of the Ghibellines, the Apulian exiles, thronged to implore fiefs in the future. Roman nobles, formerly amnestied by Charles or by the Pope, deserted to his side. The characterless Peter of Vico, successively adherent of Manfred and of Charles, appeared to do homage on the Capitol; Jacopo Napoleon Orsini offered his loyal services. The youthful Richard and other

Conradin on the Capitol.

[1] Saba gives a lively description: *vias medias desuper — caris vestibus, et pellis variis velaverunt, suspensis ad chordas strophæis, flectis, dextrocheriis, periscelidibus, arbitris, grammatis, armillis, frisiis —bursis sericis, cultris tectis de piancavo sancito, busso et purpura. . . .* The *Annales Placentini Gibellini*, p. 528, tell us that Conradin's entry took place on July 24.

[2] Saba, nevertheless, compares the city to a courtesan: *quæ frequenter libertatis antiquæ pudicitiam violando — adulterandam cuilibet venienti domino impudenter se exhibet.*

Anibaldi, Count Alkerucius of S. Eustachio, Stephen the Norman, John Arlotti, the Surdi, faithful Ghibellines of Manfred's time, brought money and arms, while the Senator hurried on the final preparations for the expedition. Other Orsini and Anibaldi, the entire house of Savelli remained on Charles's side, and the Frangipani, Colonna, and Conti awaited events within their fortresses.

Only two years after Charles's enterprise a curious change of circumstances made Rome once more the centre of an expedition directed against Apulia, and placed the usurper in the position of Manfred. The lines of defence between Ceprano and Capua were, however, better guarded, and the council of war held in Rome consequently decided to enter the Abruzzi by the Valerian Way. It was resolved to march to Sulmona, to unite with the Saracens in Luceria, to attack the enemy who was still believed to be there. The plan was faultless.

Departure of Conradin from Rome, Aug. 18, 1268.

On August 18, 1268, Conradin left Rome, where Guido of Montefeltre remained behind as vicar of the Senator.[1] He was accompanied by Don Arrigo,

[1] The *Annals of Piacenza* leave no doubt as to the date: Conradin remained twenty-six days in Rome, from July 24 until August 18. *Chron. Jordani* (*Cod. Vat.*, 1960, fol. 259) says: *generali collecto exercitu XVIII. die Aug. de urbe egredientes.* Del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl.*, ii. 186, and after him Schirrmacher, decide in favour of August 10, on the ground of Charles's report of the battle to the Pope and to the Paduans, in which he says that he had followed Conradin's army for three or even four days, before coming to battle. Charles, however, can only have been marching backwards and forwards. A. Busson ("Zur Gesch. Konradin's," *Forsch. z. Deutsch. Gesch.*, xiii. 1874) clearly proves this, and maintains that August 18 was the day of the departure of the troops

with some hundred Spaniards, by Frederick of Baden, Galvan, Conrad of Antioch and other nobles. The well-equipped army, about 10,000 strong, was inspired by joyous courage. The Roman people followed it on its departure far beyond the gate of S. Lorenzo, and the entire civic militia wished to accompany Conradin to the field; the prince, however, dismissed the greater portion after a two days' march; there remained with him only the heads of the Ghibellines with the flower of their troops Alkerucius of S. Eustachio, Stephen Alberti, the hoary John Caffarelli, the young Napoleon, son of Jacopo Orsini, Ricardellus Anibaldi, Peter Arlotti and Peter of Vico. The imperialists marched past Tivoli along the Anio to Vicovaro, where the Ghibelline Orsini gave shelter to Conradin. He next touched at Saracinesco, where Galvan's daughter, the wife of Conrad of Antioch, greeted her royal cousin. For this rock fortress, which had been a nest of Saracen robbers in the tenth century, now belonged to Conrad, whose father Frederick of Antioch had acquired it as the dowry of the noble Roman Margarita. Here the two Orsini remained imprisoned—a circumstance to which Conrad was soon to owe his escape.

He advances by the Via Valeria into Marsian territory.

Meanwhile Charles, informed of Conradin's entry into Rome and of his imminent march into the kingdom, raised the siege of Luceria. He went to Foggia, thence to the lake of Fucino, and had already reached Alba and Scurcola on August 4. He then marched backwards and forwards for several days between the lake and Aquila, uncertain as to which

route the enemy would take to Apulia, and which pass he should bar against the Germans.[1] Imagining that Conradin would attempt to advance to Sulmona by way of Aquila, he again turned northwards to Ovinulo and Aquila. Conradin's army, however, crossed the rough frontier land at Riofreddo, pushed through the pass of Carsoli and entered the valley of the Salto. Here lies the Marsian territory, with the lofty peaks of the Velino and other mountains towering over the lake of Fucino. Around stand the towns of Tagliacozzo, Scurcola, Avezzano, Celano, and Alba, in ancient times the prison of Pyrrhus, King of Macedonia, afterwards the chief town of the county of the Marsi, the title to which Conrad of Antioch had inherited from his father.[2] Several roads traversed the district of the lake, and led westwards through mountain passes to Rome, southwards to Sora, northwards to Aquila and Spoleto, eastwards to Sulmona.

Conradin marched by Tagliacozzo to Scurcola, and encamped here on August 22, at the Villa Pontium. On receiving the news that the enemy was approaching the lake, Charles advanced through the pass of Ovinulo by forced marches, to offer him battle. He caught sight of him, as he himself with 3000 wearied cavalry and infantry encamped on August 22 on the hills near Magliano,

Charles's marches are established by documentary evidence in the reports given by Del Giudice (*Cod. Dipl.*, ii. p. 1).

[2] At the end of the year 1207 Conradin had also made him *princeps Abrutii*. Diploma in Cherrier (vol. iv., Appendix). *Caro de carne nostra, sanguis de sanguine nostro et os de ossibus nostris*, thus Conradin calls the illegitimate grandson of his grandfather.

Charles of Anjou encamps before Alba.

two miles from Alba. Here consequently the battle must be fought which should prove decisive for the fate both of himself and Conradin. The Salto divided the hostile camps, one on the Palentine plain near Alba, the other at the now destroyed fortress of Ponte near Scurcola, and thus they remained for the night.[1] The following morning Conradin's army formed two lines of battle, the first under the Senator, Count Galvan and Gerard Donoratico of Pisa, the head of the Tuscan Ghibellines; the second, which consisted chiefly of German knights, under the conduct of the two youths Conradin and Frederick. The divisions of the enemy were commanded by their best captains, Jacopo Cantelmi, the Marshal Henry of Cousance, John of Clary, William

[1] Conradin's position was at the Villa Pontium 100 paces from Scurgola; that of Charles at Alba. *Campus Palentinus* (*Valentinus*) after a church of S. Valentine. Ptolemy of Lucca and Bartholomew de Neocastro name the battle after Tagliacozzo; the *Annals of Piacenza* after Alba. Charles's account of the battle is dated *in campo Palentino*, and in the *Reg.*, 1272, B. n. 14, fol. 214, he writes to the Abbot of Casenove: *cum providerimus in loco ubi pugna Corradini facta extitit, vid. prope Castrum Pontis monasterium de novo construi.* The *Majus Chron. Lemovicense* (*Recueil*, xxi. 772) contains the verse: *plana Palentina servant ter milia quina.* The battle, according to its actual site, ought to be called after Scurcola; Scurcola, however, was so insignificant a place, that it received instead the name of Tagliacozzo, a town 6 miles distant. General G. Köhler, *Zur Schlacht von Tagliacozzo*, Breslau, 1884, has tried to establish the precise site of the battle. Dante gave to the field the name of Tagliacozzo, to which we consequently adhere:—

è la da Tagliacozzo,
Dove senz' arme vinse il vecchio Alardo.

Concerning the spot, see Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Studi intorno a Manfredi*, &c.

l'Estendard, William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia (who, as Charles's vassal, had brought thence 400 splendidly equipped knights), Guido of Montfort, and the King himself.[1] Legend relates that Erard of Valery, a celebrated soldier, who had shortly before returned from the East, advised Charles to keep a third corps concealed as a reserve; but so experienced a general scarcely required a hint to retain such a force for the decisive moment.[2] Besides Lombard and Tuscan Guelfs, Romans also served in Charles's army, Bartholomew Rubeus of the Orsini, the Margrave Anibaldus, the two Savelli John and Pandulf, and other nobles. Members of the same family thus stood opposed to one another as enemies.

Battle of Tagliacozzo, Aug. 23, 1268.

Don Arrigo was the first to cross the river on the morning of August 23; he turned the ranks of the Provençals at the bridge and began the battle.[3] As Conradin's forces threw themselves on the hated enemy, they seemed the avenging spirits of Benevento. No treason stained the military honour of

[1] Best of all is the description in William Nangis, less good that of Saba; most powerful is Villani's. See besides *Descriptio Vict.*, Monachus Patavinus, Salimbene, Barthol. de Neocastro, Ricobald, d'Esclot.

[2] Villani ascribes this counsel to Valery; the *Chronicle of Morea*, which is here, however, entirely untrustworthy, to its hero William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia and vassal of Charles, in consequence of the treaty of Viterbo, by which the ex-emperor Baldwin had given Charles the over-lordship of Achaia. *Livre de la Conqueste*, ed. Buchon, 1845, p. 229 f.

[3] Before the battle began Conradin caused his prisoner, Charles's marshal, John de Brayselve, to be decapitated; such, at least, is the account of the *Chron. De rebus in Italia gestis*, Paris, 1856, p. 282.

the combatants. Their charge threw the ranks of the enemy into confusion ; the first line of the Provençals, the second of the French knights, was broken. As the Marshal of Cousance, who wore Charles's armour and carried the standard of battle, fell from his horse, and was killed, a deafening shout of victory announced the fall of the usurper. The French troops dispersed in flight, and were followed by Arrigo of Castile, the hero of the day. Germans and Tuscans rushed to sack the camp of the enemy, and all ranks scattered on the field of battle, where the boy Conradin, intoxicated with success, bore the palm of victory. Fortune raised him in the morning on the imperial shield, to plunge him in the evening into unspeakable desolation.

Conradin victor.

Charles remained upon a hill, whence he gazed on the flight of his army ; the loss of the battle signified the inevitable fall of the throne. The Guelf chronicler describes the King in tears, addressing prayers to the Madonna, while Valery admonished him that it was time to issue from the ambush. Eight hundred knights suddenly threw themselves into the fray, where no French banner was any longer to be seen. The irruption of this fresh body of troops, in their compact squadrons, sufficed to overthrow Conradin's disbanded forces, while the scattered French rallied round the new centre. The battle so splendidly won was lost for Conradin owing to the want of a reserve, owing perhaps also to the impatience of the Spaniards under Don Arrigo, who had followed the enemy to too great a distance.[1] The Infante,

[1] Bernardo d'Esclot, *Cronaca Catalana*, c. 62. Thus, too, says

returning to the field, where he had left Conradin victor, saw files of soldiers in front of the camp, and hurried among them with joyous greetings. The battle cry of "Montjoie," which met his ears, and the sight of the lilies on the banner filled him with dismay. With heroic self-command he threw himself on the enemy; twice he strove to break through their ranks. But it is vain to fight against the decrees of fate.[1]

Don Arrigo repulsed.

When night again sank upon the field, the grim Charles sat once more in his tent and dictated an account of the victory to the Pope, so nearly the repetition of his letter from the field of Benevento that only a few words seem to have been altered. "The happy tidings which have been so long desired by all the faithful in the world, I now offer you, Holy Father, as incense, and I pray you, Father, arise and eat of your son's venison. We have slain such numbers of the enemy that the defeat of Benevento appears insignificant. Whether Conradin and the Senator Henry have fallen or have escaped, we do not exactly know, more especially as we write immediately after the battle. The horse which was ridden by the Senator has been caught riderless. Let the Church, our mother, arise and praise the Almighty, who has given her champion so great a victory: for the Lord now appears to have put an end to her distress and to have delivered her from

Charles's letter acquainting the Pope of his victory.

the rhymed chronicle of Ottocar (Petz, iii. 40): *Die Dewtzschen sich strewten, nach jr Syte sy sich frewten Raubs und Gewinns.*

[1] *Sed frustra intentatur aliquid invito numine superno;* a fine sentence of the ancients in the mouth of the Guelf Malaspina, p. 845.

the fury of her persecutors. Given on the Palentine field on August 23 in the eleventh Indiction and in the fourth year."

Such was the language of the terrible huntsman of the night of S. Bartholomew, who with bigoted hypocrisy offered his victim to the Pope, as it were an exquisite dish of game.[1] The twofold victory within so brief a space of time of one and the same despot, first over Manfred, then over Conradin, revolts the moral sense, for here in truth for the second time evil triumphed over good, wrong over right. On the field of Tagliacozzo was cast perhaps the most unfair lot that rivals ever drew from the urn of battle. If justice and revenge, if strength and fidelity of arms, if heroic courage and enthusiastic youth could have guaranteed the victory, then must it have fallen to Conradin ; but an inexorable destiny gave it into Charles's hand. The hatred of the conqueror might have been satisfied with the sight of thousands of slain, and still he desired revenge. He had the feet of many of the Roman prisoners cut off. On being told that the sight of so many mutilated persons might provoke violent hatred against himself, he ordered them all to be put together in a building and burnt. Among Roman nobles Stephen

[1] *Supplico, ut surgens pater et comedens de venatione filii sui, exsolvat gratias debitas altissimo.* These profanely pious words must, undoubtedly, have sounded biblical and beautiful at Viterbo! Martene, ii. Ep. 690. The Pope received the courier on August 26 (Ep. 693). He wrote immediately to the commune of Rieti, to detain all fugitives, lest Conradin should escape. On August 24, Charles wrote to Padua, *dat. in Campo Pallentino prope Albam XXIV. Aug. XI. Ind.;* Murat., *Antiq.*, iv. 1144.

of the Alberti, the brave Alkerucius of S. Eustachio, and the aged Caffarelli lay dead.[1] Kroff of Flüglingen also, Conradin's marshal, had fallen. Peter of Vico, mortally wounded, dragged himself to Rome and thence to his fortress, where he died in December. This unprincipled man was one of the ancestors of the wild Ghibelline family of Vico, in whom the prefecture of the city remained hereditary until the year 1435.[2]

[1] The Alkerutii appear in Rome in documents A. 1200, when Romanus Alkerutii gives a deed of renunciation to Octavianus, the chamberlain of Pope Innocent III. *Studi e Doc.*, 1886, n. xxxii., of the *Doc. per la stor. eccl. e civile di Roma* of the Austrian school in Rome.

[2] Saba, p. 849. The *Memoriale of the Podestàs of Reggio* notices his death in December 1268. It calls him *præf. urbis:* so also the inscription in the family vault in S. Maria de Gradi at Viterbo (Bussi, p. 159, App. xxi. xxii.). On his deathbed he commanded his body to be cut in seven pieces *in detestationem septem criminalium vitiorum. . . . Actum vici in Rocca in camera dicti Testatoris* (*A.* 1268, *Ind. XII. die VI. m. Dec.*). According to Charles's *Regesta* (1271, B. n. 10, fol. 159) he left two sons, Peter and Manfred, and his widow Constancia. Manfred, prefect of the city in 1308, had received his name from the king. The house of Vico reached back to the twelfth century, and as early as the beginning of the thirteenth, called itself, from its hereditary office, *de Præfectis* or *Præfectani.* Innocent IV. wrote, A. 1248: *Præfecto urbis, Petro Bonifatii, Amatori qd. Gabrielis de Præfectis dominis de Vico et aliis Præfectanis. . . .* Theiner, *Cod. Dipl.*, i. n. 233.

3. Conradin flees to Rome from the Field of Battle—His brief Sojourn in the City—His Flight, Capture, and Surrender in Astura—The Prisoners in the Castle of Palestrina—Execution of Galvan Lancia—Charles Senator for the second time—Fate of Conrad of Antioch and of Don Arrigo—End of Conradin—Death of Clement IV., 1268.

Flight of Conradin.

A blow, like a thunderbolt falling from a clear sky, had shattered the audacious dreams of the unfortunate youth and opened an abyss of ruin before him. He fled from the field of battle with 500 horsemen; with him were his companions Frederick of Baden, Count Gerard of Pisa, Galvan Lancia and his son, and other nobles. He turned first to Castel Vecchio, near Tagliacozzo, where, as it would appear, he hoped to collect his dispersed troops, and where he rested for a while. He then fled along the Via Valeria to Vicovaro, and hastened to Rome as a fugitive by the very road along which but a few days before he had marched at the head of an army, in full expectation of victory.[1] The fate of the Senator was as yet unknown in the city; Guido of Montefeltre, however, still remained as his vicar

[1] The *Annals of Piacenza* throw a new light on the history of Conradin: *Qui rex C. cum militib. qui secum erant ad castrum Vegium se reduxit—et tunc venit Vicoarium cum quingintis militibus —intravit Romam die Martis XXVIII. m. Augusti* (p. 528). D'Esclot also says (c. 62): *Corali con ben cinquecento cavalieri si salvò verso Roma. Vegium* is a vulgar form. Corsignani, *Reggia Marsicana*, i. 307, 315, gives a *Castel Vecchio* near Tagliacozzo.

there, and there Conradin hoped to find protection and, in alliance with Pisa, fresh means for continuing the war.

He reached Rome on Tuesday, August 28. How different his reception, how different his return! He came in secret and almost distracted.[1] The news of his defeat had travelled rapidly to Rome; the Ghibellines were filled with terror; the Guelfs with joyous expectation. Exiled Romans returned in triumph from the field of battle, where they had fought under Charles's banner; John and Pandulf Savelli, Berthold Rubeus and other nobles. The excitement was unbounded. Guido held the Capitol for Don Arrigo, but refused to give shelter to the fugitive. Conradin sought protection from other Ghibellines, who had thrown themselves into their towers in the city. They held the Colosseum, the island of the Tiber, which had been refortified by Peter de Vico, the fortified Vatican, the palaces of Stephen Alberti, and a fortress called Arpacata, which had been built by Jacopo Napoleone among the ruins of Pompey's theatre on the Campo di Fiore.[2] But since numbers of Guelfs continually arrived in the city, Conradin's friends recognised

He reaches Rome, Aug. 28, 1268.

The Prosenator Guido of Montefeltre refuses him admittance to the Capitol.

[1] *Latenter ingreditur, mente captus*, Saba Malaspina, p. 850.

[2] *Pars ecclesiæ habebat tantum (montem) qui appellatur Guastum* (perhaps a corruption for *Lausta, mons Augusti?*); *et pars contraria tenebat Colliseum, et Ysolam S. Petri, et castellum Jacobi Napoleoni, et castell. S. Angeli, et domum papalem, et domum Stephani Alberti* (*Annals of Piacenza*, p. 528). These valuable notices are confirmed and explained by Saba, p. 864, where he says that, in the time of the Senator Henry, Jacopo Napoleone *quamdam fortericiam in Campo—diflore construxerat, quæ Arpacata—vocabatur—turres, quas Petrus Romani in capite pontium Judæorum et trans Tyberim fecerat.*

that he could remain no longer. They counselled flight. The unfortunate fugitives—Count Gerard Donoratico alone secretly remained behind and soon fell into the hands of the enemy — departed on Friday, August 31, for the fortress of Saracinesco, which was held by Galvan's daughter.[1] They were undecided what to do. Their first intention was to go to Apulia, but they afterwards resolved to gain the nearest point of the coast.

Conradin escapes to Astura.

The diminished company turned towards the Maremma below Velletri and reached the sea at Astura. Astura, where Cicero had formerly owned a villa, lies isolated on the ruins of Roman palaces built along the shore. Grey towers rise here and there along the coast, and the neighbouring Cape of Circe emerges with its fortress from the sea. The dunes form a fishing harbour, into which the river Stura flows. In the early Middle Ages the fortress belonged to the convent of S. Alexius on the Aventine, from which it was held in fief, first by the counts of Tusculum then by the Frangipani. As late as 1166 the place was mentioned beside Terracina as a harbour.[2] The sea-girt castle with

[1] *Annals of Piacenza*, trustworthy and accurate: *Et die Veneris—rex timens de forestatis Rome qui intraverant Romam, cum duce Austrie et comite Galvagno, et cum militibus qui secum aderant de Roma exiens, equitavit ad Castrum Saracenum quod uxor Conradi de Antiocia tenebat: et volendo ire in regnum cum duce Austriæ; comite Galvagno en Alioto* (Galeazzo) *ejus filio, Napolione filio Jacobi de Napolione, Rizardo de Anibalibus et parva Theotonicor. comitiva, in portu de Sture capti fuerunt per Joannem Frangipanem.—Corradin se disguisa—et s'en vint à un chastel qui siet seur mer. . . . Chronicles of S. Denis, Recueil*, xxi. 122.

[2] In the treaty of the city of Rome with Genoa, vol. iv.

a solitary tower is all that now remains of Astura. In the time of Conradin, however, it was a castrum with several churches and surrounded by strong walls.[1] The fugitives threw themselves into a boat, hoping to gain friendly Pisa. But John Frangipane, lord of the fortress, having been informed that foreign knights, apparently from the field of Scurcola, had put to sea, followed them with swift oarsmen, acting as much on his own impulse, as because letters from the Pope and Charles had been published ordering the arrest of the fugitives. He took them prisoners on the sea and brought them back to the castle of Astura. Conradin, Frederick of Baden, the two Counts Galvan, the young Napoleon Orsini, Ricardellus Anibaldi, and several German and Italian knights were in his power.[2]

John Frangipane takes Conradin and his companions prisoners.

[1] The place and river, which Strabo calls Στόρας ποταμός, can scarcely have received the name, as Nibby (*Analisi*) believes, from the *astur*, or falcon of the Maremma; since Astura is an old Greek city-name, and points to an early Greek immigration. The *Annals of Piacenza* (p. 529) are acquainted with a Sibylline prophecy: *veniet filius Aquilæ, astur capiet illum.* Astura is designated as *portus* and *insula* even in ancient times. A diploma of Honorius III. cites among the estates of the convent of S. Alessio: *totum quod vestro monasterio pertinet in Asturia et in insula Asturie cum piscationibus, venationibus, naufragiis* (Nerini, p. 233).

[2] The capture is related by Saba, and with some variations by d'Esclot (c. 63). *Chron. Placent.*, Saba, *Chron. Siciliæ* in Martene, F. Pipin call the traitor John, Bartholomew de Neocastro calls him Jacopo. The last author says that Frangipane's son was killed in the siege of Astura. True, I find a deed of Astura itself, in which a certain Jacopo appears as lord of the place on October 5, 1287 (*auctoritate nobil. viror. dominor. dicti Castri scil. Manuelis, Petri, et Jacobi Frajapanis. . . . Gætani Archives*, xxxiv. 51); nevertheless, according to Charles's *Regesta*, the traitor must have been called John. For in 1289 a Frangipane is named, whose

Conradin, in making himself known to Frangipane, was inspired by delusive hopes, founded on vague recollections of the fact that the family had formerly been imperialist and had been richly endowed by his grandfather. He was not aware that the same Frangipani had quarrelled with Manfred on account of Taranto, and had long seceded to the Pope's side. Fear and avarice counselled the lord of Astura to retain the valuable prey, in whom he recognised the claimant to the crown of Sicily. Accident also willed that Robert de Lavena, Charles's admiral, who had shortly before been defeated by the Pisans at Messina, should chance to be cruising with Provençal galleys in these waters. Hearing what had taken place at Astura, he demanded the surrender of Conradin in the name of the King of Sicily. Frangipane resisted, in order to increase the price of his booty. He removed the prisoner to a neighbouring and a stronger fortress, perhaps to S. Pietro in Formis, near Nettuno.[1] Cardinal Jordan, rector of the Campagna and Maritima, also came with troops, and in the name of the Pope demanded on his side the surrender of the prisoner as a person under the ban of the Church and a malefactor taken upon her soil. Neither entreaties, nor promises, neither the innocence, youth nor beauty of the

services had formerly been rewarded by Charles I.; his son, however, is there called *Michael Frajapanis fil. quond. Johannis* (*Reg.*, 1272, E. fol. 173).

[1] Saba, p. 851: *ad quoddam castrum de prope forte transvexit.* There is nothing near Astura but Nettuno on the sea, and S. Pietro in Formis inland; the latter is better suited, therefore, to Frangipane's purpose. No chronicler otherwise mentions these particulars.

prisoner, touched the heart of Frangipane. On the pretext of the difficulties in which Charles's galleys placed him he gave the prisoners into the hands of the King's mercenaries;[1] they were led in chains through the Maremma, were surrendered to Charles in Genazzano, and confined in the castle of S. Pietro above Palestrina. This rock fortress was the property of John Colonna, but was occupied by Neapolitan soldiers.[2] For Charles had come from the battlefield across the mountains to Subiaco and had descended on the Via Prænestina; he made his headquarters (September 12) in Genazzano, a fief of the Colonna, a family which, like the Conti and the Frangipani, had embraced the side of the Guelf from timidity and selfishness.

Frangipane surrenders Conradin to Charles's troops.

Genazzano lies at less than six miles distance from Palestrina, where the prisoners were assembled, and here the Senator Don Arrigo (who had been captured when escaping from the battlefield by Sinibaldo Aquilone, a knight), Conrad of Antioch, and several noble Roman as well as Italian Ghibellines were also brought.[3] The castle of S. Pietro, a primitive

Conradin imprisoned at Palestrina.

[1] The *Chron. Imp.* (Laurentiana, *Plut.*, xxi. 5) extenuates the treachery: *mandatum implevit, quamvis dolens hoc faceret, eo quod avus Conradini eum militem fecerat.* The Monk of Padua says outright: *incidit in manus quorumd. civium Romanorum, qui pro immensa pecuniæ quantitate ipsum Regi—tradiderunt* (p. 730).

[2] Saba, p. 851. *Memoriale Pot. Reg.*, p. 1127 . . . *deductus fuit ad Pellæstrinum in carceribus. Annals of Piacenza: in Prinistinum in fortia Johis de Collumpna.* Salimbene, p. 218.

[3] Charles rewarded Sinibaldo with estates in the Abruzzi, which are mentioned in a deed of February 11, 1308, C. Min. Riccio, *Saggio di Cod. Dipl.*, ii. (1879), n. 14. The Pope writes on September 14, that he had heard from Cardinal Jordan *quod—rex—*

fortress of Latium, round which still tower moss-grown Cyclopean stones, is now fallen to decay. Ivy mantles its ruins, from which the eye gazes over an indescribably beautiful panorama of land and sea. There sat Conradin with his companions in chains for several days. Among the prisoners Count Galvan was the object of Charles's bitterest hatred. As Manfred's general, and as the most zealous promoter of Conradin's enterprise, he had confronted him on two fields of battle. He caused him to be publicly executed with other barons of Apulia, either at Palestrina, or at his headquarters at Genazzano, after his son Galiotto had been strangled in his arms. Thus in the earlier half of September 1268 died Manfred's uncle, the brother of the beautiful Bianca, a chivalrous man, whose changeful life was closely linked with the greatness as with the fall of the Hohenstaufens.[1] Charles left the remaining prisoners

Execution of Galvan Lancia.

Corradinum et ducem Austrie, Galvanum et Galiotum ejus fil. cum H. qd. Senatore urbis et C. de Antiochia tenet carceri mancipatos; et jam rex ipse Penestram venerat (Ep. 695). In September, he informs the King of Bohemia *ad exultationem et gaudium* the defeat and capture of Conradin and Frederick of Austria (*Forsch. zur deutsch. Gesch.*, vol. xv. p. 388).

[1] Cherrier, following Salimbene and *Mem. Potest. Reg.*, wrongly holds that Galvan was executed in Rome: the *Annals of Piacenza* give Palestrina; the *Chron. Cavense*, Genazzano. On September 12 Charles writes to the French king that Galvan and his two sons and others had been taken prisoners; he dates from Genazzano (*Guazani*, Rymer, p. 477). Soon after, he writes from Rome to the city of Lucca: *Conradinum—Henricum—ac ducem Austrie, Galvanum Lancie ejusque fil. jam in capitali sententia condempnatos;* I apply *condempnatos* only to Galvan and his son, and hold it to imply that a sentence had been pronounced on Conradin. Del Giudice (*Cod. Dipl.*, ii. 215), while of the same opinion as myself as to Galvan's

at Palestrina and hastened from Genazzano to Rome on September 15.[1]

Here, immediately after his victory, he was elected Senator for life: he gladly accepted the civic authority and again sent Jacopo Cantelmi as his vicar to Rome, where Guido of Montefeltre immediately surrendered the Capitol for 4000 gold florins. The Pope, who had already absolved him from his renunciation of the senatorial dignity, ratified him in his office for ten years. Charles consequently again assumed the dignity on September 16, and henceforward officially called himself "Senator of the Illustrious City."[2] He distributed estates among the Romans who sided with him, or who had fought in his ranks on the Palentinian Field, and John Frangipane was handsomely rewarded.[3]

Charles, Senator of Rome, Sept. 16, 1268.

execution, applies the *condempnatos* to all the prisoners. But *corporaliter* or *in capitali sententia condempnati* signifies simply "executed"; this is evident from Charles's statute against the rebels of December 15, 1268 (Del Giudice, p. 259).

[1] On September 15 he still dates from Genazzano a safe-conduct for the envoys of Conrad of Antioch to Saracinesco, for the release of the Orsini imprisoned there. Del Giudice, ii. n. 63. On the 16th he came to Rome. *Ibidem*, note 2. After September 18 he dates several letters *in Arce Capitolii*.

[2] *In Senator. urbis sumus assumpti*, as early as September 12, to the French king. *Nos in S. Urbis sumus ad vitam assumpti, manentes in urbe;* thus to Lucca (Bibl. Angelica in Rome, *Cod. D.*, 8, 17); undated letter, written immediately after his arrival, which took place immediately after Galvan's execution . . . *quo facto idem D. Rex contulit se ad Urbem* (*Chron. Cavense*). He reckoned his ten years' tenure of the office of Senator from September 16; letter of the year 1278, of which later.

[3] According to Villani (vii. 29) Frangipane received Pilosa between Naples and Benevento; according to *Reg. Caroli I.*, n. 1722, lit. E. fol. 173, *medietatem baronie Feniculi—propter grata servitia et*

After having installed his officials on the Capitol and informed the Guelfs of his victory, Charles returned to Genazzano in the beginning of October, in order to conduct his prisoners to Naples, and to have them tried there.[1] Conrad of Antioch alone of the number obtained freedom; his life was saved by the happy accident that his wife still held as hostages Napoleon and Matthew Orsini, brothers of the influential Cardinal John Cajetan, afterwards Pope Nicholas III. He was exchanged for these

accepta. Concerning this, see Biagio Aldimari, *Hist. della fam. Carafa*, Naples, 1691, ii. 262. Of the register of Charles I.'s donations, the Archives of Naples only possess the Lib. Donat., 1269, n. 7, which is supplemented by an abstract in the Vatican (*Cod. Regin.*, 378), from which I only quote the names of Romans. *Pandulf. Petri Pandulfi de Grassis de Urbe habet in don. Castrum Petrelle—Riccardus fil. qd. Petri Anibaldi de Roma . . . mediet. terræ Anglonæ—Adenulf. fil. Joannis Comitis Romanor. Proconsulis . . . castr. Limosani—Jacob. Cancellarius urbis, Cincius de Cancellario et Joannes de Cancellario . . . baronia quæ dicitur Francisca* (near Aversa)*—Gregorius fil. qd. Francisci de Piperno, qui F. mortuus est in Campo Palentino contra Conradinum . . . Castrum Brocci—Petrus de Columna habet restitut. castri Sambuci—Anibaldus de Transmundo de Roma . . . Montem Sanum.*

[1] Letter to Lucca: *compositus per dies aliquot urbis negotiis in regnum nostr. protinus profecturi ad cunctor. proditor. exterminium.* On September 28 Charles was still in the Capitol; thence he appointed Notto Salimbene of Siena vicar of S. Quirico: *act. Rome in Arce Capitolii a.D.* 1268, *m. Sept.* 28, *Ind. XII. per man. Roberti de Baro Regni Sic. prothon.* (Archives of Siena, n. 877). I doubt whether he had taken Conradin and the other prisoners with him to Rome, as St. Priest, Giudice, and Schirrmacher believe. Del Giudice (*Cod. Dipl.*, ii. 70) disputes my opinion, that Charles had returned from Rome to Genazzano, and had there taken the prisoners of Palestrina into his own hands. But while he himself proves Charles's presence in Colonna and Paliano on October 2, in order to show that Charles did not touch Genazzano, he overlooks the fact that Paliano stands quite close to Genazzano.

prelates. Conrad became the ancestor of a family of Latin counts of Antioch, which still makes its appearance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the fortresses of Anticoli and Piglio on the Serrone, and in Rome itself. It remained permanently Ghibelline and hostile to the pope, and at length fell to decay.[1]

That the Infante Arrigo escaped with his life was due to his family relations and to consideration for the royal house of Castile. The former Senator was imprisoned, first in the castle of Canosa, then in Castel del Monte in Apulia, where he could hear the wails of Manfred's three sons. Vain were the entreaties of the Kings of England, Castile, and Aragon, vain the angry appeals of indignant poets; laments for Don Arrigo and the praises of his chivalry still live in the songs of the troubadours, in the canzone of Giraud de Calason and of Paulet of

Don Arrigo imprisoned.

[1] A daughter of Conrad was married to Ottaviano da Brunforte, A. 1297, vicar of Boniface VIII. in Todi (*Annals of Todi*, by Petti). A decree of Robert (Naples, March 5, 1327) designates *Philippus de Antiochia* as *S. R. Eccl. rebellis* (*Gætani Archives*, cap. i. 74). In 1363 *Manfredus de A.* appears in the will of *Jacob. fil. Fran. de Ursinis de Campofloris* (Adinolfi, *La Portica*, p. 262). A sale-contract of October 17, 1377, mentions *Corradus de A. comes dom. Castri Pilii* (*Colonna Archives*, xiv. 259). Again, in 1407 a *Corradinus de A.* was executed in Rome as a rebel. The register of the Abbesses in the Archives of *S. Silve in Capite* at Rome cites in 1417 *Giovanna di A.* In 1484 a *Conradinus de A. civ. Rom.* as *Notar. Reformator. studii Al. Urbis;* Renazzi, *Univ. di Roma*, i. 287. As late as the sixteenth century, documents show the existence of this family in Rome and its palace in the Region S. Eustachio. According to Corsignani (*Reg. Marsicana*, i. 208) the vault of the family was in Sambuci. The Antioch family owned Anticoli, where, under the name of *Corradi*, they are said still to exist in poverty.

Marseilles.[1] Not until 1291 was he released, when he returned to his native land Castile, and died in 1304.[2]

The head of the last Hohenstaufen fell beneath the axe at Naples on October 29, 1268. Charles hastened to put an end to his unfortunate rival, after having removed him from the domains of the Church. He murdered a claimant, who, even from the remotest dungeon, would have disturbed his repose.

Execution of Conradin, Oct. 29, 1268.

The execution of Conradin and his noble friends has been stigmatised by the judgment of both contemporary and after times as an infamous deed inspired by tyrannical fear—a deed which history hastened to avenge. No sophistry can cleanse Charles from the stain of the murder. Voices have been heard which accuse Clement of complicity in the crime, and his name is burdened with more than the heavy reproach, that he neither required from Charles the surrender of Conradin, as a person under the ban of the Church, and taken prisoner upon her

[1] *Que per valor et per noble coratge*
Mantenia 'N Enricx l'onrat linhatge
De Colradi ab honrat vassalatge ;
E'l reys 'N Anfos, ab son noble barutage
Que a cor ric
Deu demandar tost son frair EN Enric.

(Paulet de Marseille: Raynouard, *Poésies orig. des Troubad.*, iv. 65, 72.)

[2] Documents concerning Don Arrigo's imprisonment are given by Del Giudice in his already quoted work, *Don Arrigo Infante di Castiglia.* In 1277 Arrigo was removed from Canosa to Castel del Monte: on June 5, 1291, on the entreaties of Edward, King of England, brother-in-law of the Infante, Charles II. ordered his release.

soil, nor hastened to stay the executioner's hand. He foresaw the bloody end, knowing, as he did too well, Charles's nature. The Pope desired and approved the death of the last descendant of Frederick II., because he wished to put an end for ever to the claims of the house of Hohenstaufen. Had Clement IV. but given vent to an exclamation of disapproval, or of human sympathy with the terrible fate of Conradin, whose right was as clear as the sun in the eyes of both God and man, the evidence of feeling would have graced the memory of a Pope who was allowed by fortune to complete the downfall of the great Swabian family. He was silent, and his silence is his condemnation. Conradin's head fell on October 29; on November 29 Clement IV. died at Viterbo. The touching figure of the innocent grandson of Frederick II. on the scaffold at Naples, where he raised his hands to heaven and then knelt in prayer to receive his death-blow, stood at the bedside of the dying Pope and darkened his last hours.[1] He was also terrified by the thought of the now all-powerful conqueror. If as priest he found satisfaction in the consciousness of the destruction of the family, the members of

Death of Clement IV., Nov. 29, 1268.

[1] We may take this for granted, when Villani ventures to assert that Clement IV. beheld the victory of Tagliacozzo in a vision. Amari (*Vespro Sicil.*, i. c. 3) holds that the Pope desired Conradin's death. Concerning his end, &c., see the well-known works, especially Jäger's *Gesch. Konrad's II.*, Nuremberg, 1787. A second Conradin seems to have appeared in Luceria: "Notice sur un Manuscr. de l'abbaye des Dunes," par M. Kervyn de Lettenhove, in *Mém. de l'Acad. de Bruxelles*, xxv. 16. The *Annals of Piacenza*, p. 536, speak of him as a natural son of Conrad.

which were the mortal enemies of the Papacy, he must nevertheless have been tortured by the idea, that the true advantage of the victory lay in the hands of a tyrant, who was King of Sicily, Senator of Rome, Vicar of Tuscany, Protector of all Guelf cities; the man who would probably soon become ruler of Italy and oppressor of the Church.

After a brief and brilliant career, which appears to belong rather to the province of romance than to the sphere of history, Conradin ended the list of the heroes of Hohenstaufen race, as also their long struggle against the Papacy for the possession of Italy. If the fate of the noble youth was terrible and unjust, the sentence of history was at any rate decided. Germany should no longer rule over Italy, the ancient empire of the Ottos and the Franks should never be restored. Had the grandson of Frederick II. triumphed over Charles of Anjou, he would have revived conditions and struggles which had no longer any right to find a place in the progress of nations. The whole of Germany was stirred by sorrow for his fall, but no prince or people arose to avenge it.[1] The Swabian dynasty was dead: Conradin was the last sacrifice to the principle of its legitimacy. Great families represent the

[1] *De cujus morte tota dolet Germania;* Ellenhardi, *Chron. M. Germ.*, xvii. 122. *Conradinus iste pulcherrimus, ut Absalon, consilio papæ ob invidiam Theutonici nominis — crudelitur decollatur:* "Annales breves Wormatienses," *ibid.*, p. 76. Some laments on the death of Manfred and Conradin by Romance as well as German poets are given at the end of Schirrmacher's *Letzte Hohenstaufen.* The Venetian poet, Bertolomeu Zorgi, compared Conradin with the handsome Absalom.

system of their age. They fall, however, with it, and no priestly or political power can ever restore a legitimacy which history has outworn. No greater race ever represented a greater system than the Hohenstaufens, in whose dominion of more than a hundred years the war of principles in the Middle Ages found its most decided development and its greatest characters. The war of the two systems, of the Church and of the empire, which mutually destroyed one another, in order to leave the way clear for the movement of the intellect, was the summit of the Middle Ages, upon which stands Conradin surrounded by the aureole of his tragic death. Although the great dynasty itself had expired, the struggle of the Hohenstaufens was successfully continued in other processes for the deliverance of mankind from the despotism of the priesthood, processes which, apart from the deeds of this heroic race, would have been impossible.[1]

[1] The Hohenstaufens were outlived by the spirit of culture, which they had so largely contributed to form, the great principle which stood upon their banner, of the severance of the secular and the spiritual powers (this was and still is the actual principle of Ghibellinism, around which moves the entire development of Europe until the present day), and also the idea of the political monarchy, so closely allied with that principle.

CHAPTER IV.

1. Long and severe Government of Charles through his Prosenators in Rome—His Coins—Statue erected in his Honour—He returns to Rome, 1271—Indecision of the Cardinals in Viterbo concerning the Papal Election—Guido of Montfort stabs the English Prince Henry—Election of Gregory X.—Election of Rudolf of Habsburg—End of the Interregnum.

Charles was now able to indulge in the scheme, which he had long since conceived, of subjugating the entire peninsula to his sceptre, and even of conquering the Greek empire. But seated on the throne of Frederick II. he remained only a hated despot. The conqueror was endowed with no sagacity as a ruler, no largeness of view as a law-giver; to the lands which he ruled he left nothing but the curse of a long feudal despotism. The plans of his ambition were shattered, as were those of the Hohenstaufens, by the policy of the popes, by Italian party spirit, and by the feeling of Latin nationality which finally rose against the dominion of the Gallic stranger.

He ruled the city of Rome for ten years as Senator, through his vicars, nobles of his court, whom, in con-

formity with the statutes of the city, he sent to the Capitol, accompanied by judges and other officials, for an indefinite length of time. The strong hand of the autocrat was beneficial; respect for the law was thereby restored; in the space of a year two hundred thieves were seen hanging from the gallows.[1] The coins of Rome were henceforward engraved with Charles's name.[2] They and a statue are the sole memorials of his term of office, which was the longest ever held by any Senator. The marble figure of a mediæval king, wearing the crown, the sceptre in his hand, clad in Roman vestments and seated on a chair adorned with the heads of lions may still be

Charles I. rules Rome through pro-senators.

[1] The series of the prosenators is as follows:—Jacopo Cantelmi until 1269. Peter de Summaroso, 1270. Bertrand de Bautio, 1271. Roger de S. Severino, Count of the Marsi, 1272. Bernard de Raiano, 1272–1274. Pandulf de Fasanella, 1274–1275. William de Barris, 1276. During his illness Godfrey de Poligny. Giacomo Cantelmi, October 1276–1277. John de Fossames, 1277 until September 1278. For the year 1274, I add: *Nicolasus de Riso regius in urbe vic.*, deed in the Archives of S. Silvestro *in Capite, dat. A.* 1274, *Ind. II. m. Apr. die XIX.* Further for 1277: Henry de Caprosia, appointed on October 12, after which John de Fossames was elected on December 18, 1277 (*Reg. Caroli I.*, 1278, D. n. 32, fol. 288, 291). Before P. Fasanella, Charles sent Tommaso di Fasanella as marshal to Rome. An epitaph in Aracœli says: *Hic Jacet D. Thomasus D. Fasanella Olim Marescalcus Urbis Dni. Regis Karoli Tempore Dni. Comitis Rogerii D. Sco. Severino Vicarii* (Forcella, *Iscriz. delle Chiese di Roma*, i. 117). The series of prosenators was first compiled by Vitale, it was then completed by me, and after me by Wüstenfeld: *Beiträge zur Reihenfolge der obersten Communalbehörden Rom's von* 1263 *bis* 1330 (Pflugk, *Iter. Ital.*, 2 Abt. 1884).

[2] CAROLVS REX SENATOR VRBIS. Effigy of the lion with a lily above. On the other side Rome crowned, with the legend: ROMA. CAPVD. MVNDI. S.P.Q.R.

seen in the Palace of the Senators on the Capitol. The head is large and powerful, the face fixed and severe, the nose huge, the features hard, though not actually plain. Such is the statue of Charles of Anjou, erected in his honour by the Romans, probably after his victory over Conradin.[1]

Charles I. in Rome, March 1271.

He returned to Rome in March 1271, accompanied by his nephew Philip, now King of France, whose celebrated father Lewis IX. had died in the Crusade before Tunis. Charles entered the Capitol, where the brave knight Bertrand del Balzo filled the office of Senator in his place. The Ghibellines, who under Angelo Capocci had continued a desultory warfare and had fought against the prosenators of the King, were now subdued. Jacopo Cantelmi had already handed over their fortresses in the city to the Guelfs for destruction, and Arpacata on the Campo de Fiore and the towers of Peter de Vico in Trastevere were consequently demolished. Charles held it prudent to grant an amnesty to some of the chief of Conradin's adherents, while he issued decrees to repair the injuries the Guelfs in Rome had suffered under the Senator Arrigo.[2]

[1] On the coins of the Senate of the end of the thirteenth century, Rome also is seated on a chair, the arms of which are ornamented with the heads of lions.

[2] On the entreaty of Cardinal Richard Anibaldi, he granted an amnesty to his nephew Ricardellus, who had seized Ariano under Algidus. Saba, p. 864. Some decrees concerning indemnities, issued from Rome between April 11 and 17, are to be found in *Reg.*, 1271, B. n. 10, fol. 159 *sq.* Charles dates from Rome on March 8, 1271; on March 17 from Viterbo. From the beginning of April until the 20th, he was again in Rome. On the 21st, at Sculcola; it was with pleasure that he crossed the battlefield, where he built a monastery.

He was summoned to Viterbo by urgent affairs, connected not so much with the danger presented by the remainder of the Ghibellines in Tuscany, as with the election of a new pope. The cardinals, who assembled at Viterbo on the death of Clement IV., were at variance; the influence of the prelates devoted to Charles was counterbalanced by the patriotically-minded party; all felt the importance of their duty in electing a pope for a new epoch. They were eighteen in number. Eleven desired an Italian pontiff, and through him the restoration of the empire, which still remained vacant; the remainder wished for the elevation of a Frenchman. Their deliberations took place amid constant tumults on the part of the citizens of Viterbo, who even crowded on the roof of the archbishop's palace in order to force the electors to a decision.[1] The fact that the sacred chair remained unoccupied for nearly three years, at the same time that the imperial throne was also vacant, shows the profound exhaustion of the Papacy at a historic crisis. Charles now arrived as advocate of the Church at Viterbo, with King Philip III. (who brought the remains of Lewis IX. from Tunis), to hasten the election, or rather to guide it according to his wishes; but he made no impression on the cardinals. On the contrary, a sacrilegious deed, which was committed before their eyes, seemed as a punishment inflicted on the Church because she remained without a head. Henry, son of Richard of

Conclave in Viterbo.

[1] Letter in Bussi, p. 411, where the cardinals date: *Viterbii in Palatio discooperto Episcopatus Viterbiensis, VII. Id. Junii A.* 1270, *Ap. Sed. Vac.*

Cornwall, was with Charles at Viterbo, on his return from Tunis. Guido of Montfort, Charles's vicar in Tuscany, likewise arrived in the town.[1] The sight of the English prince awoke the fury of this bloodthirsty warrior and impelled him to avenge himself on the royal house of England, by whom his great father, Simon of Leicester and Montfort, had been slain in battle and his remains outraged in death. He stabbed the innocent Henry at the altar of a church, dragged the corpse by the hair and threw it down the steps of the portal.[2] The brutal murder, committed under the eyes of the cardinals, of the King of Sicily and the King of France, remained unpunished; the assassin escaped to Soana, the fortress of his father-in-law, Count Guido Aldobrandini, called Conte Rosso. The trial, which was tardily instituted, was mild and easy, for in Guido of Montfort Charles honoured one of his greatest captains, and his chief instrument in the fall of the Hohenstaufen throne. He had rewarded Guido's services by splendid fiefs in the kingdom, where he had bestowed upon him the hereditary investiture of the counties of Nola, Cicala, Forino, Atropaldo, and

The English Prince Henry murdered by Guido of Montfort, March 1271.

[1] Guido had been vicar in Tuscany since 1270. On March 23, 1270, Charles wrote from Capua to the Prosenator Peter de Summaroso, telling him that he was sending Guido to Tuscany in this capacity: and enjoining Peter to protect him from the snares prepared for him by Angelus Capocci on his way through Roman territory. *Reg. Caroli*, 1269, D. fol. 248.

[2] The murder was committed on the morning of March 13, 1271; on the 13th Charles informs all the officials appointed by Guido in Tuscany that he had nominated Henry, Count of Vaudemont, as Vicar-general of Tuscany *amoto exinde Guidone de Monteforti suis culpis exigentibus.* *Reg. Caroli I.*, 1271, c. n. 10.

Montfort.[1] Guido is moreover described as high-minded and even of great integrity, qualities which were quite compatible with the untamed savagery of the passions characteristic of the Middle Ages. A crime such as his did not by any means appear so terrible at this time as it would in the present day. Murder committed in revenge was held in no wise disgraceful, and the men of this age, who hated to the death, were also capable of pardoning even to the death.[2] Twelve years after the committal of a deed which would now place the perpetrator outside the pale of human society, a pope called the same Guido his beloved son, and made him general in the service of the Church.[3]

The crime perhaps woke the cardinals from their lethargy, since, on September 1, 1271, stirred by the eloquence of Bonaventura the Franciscan monk, they entrusted six electors with the power of nominating

[1] *Liber. Donationum*, 1269, n. 7, fol. 93. State Archives of Naples. Charles satisfied himself with sequestrating the fiefs of the murderer. C. Min. Riccio, *Saggio di Cod. Dipl.*, i n. 79, 80. On March 1, 1272, Gregory X. brought a suit against him: Bull from Orvieto, in Fumi, *Cod. Dipl. di Orvieto*, p. 330. Guido, who had found refuge in a monastery at Bracciano, was not excommunicated by Gregory until April 1, 1273, when Prince Edward returned from the Crusade. He was then confined in a fortress.

[2] The continuator of Matthew Paris, p. 678, speaking of the murder, says simply: *occiditur in ultionem viriliter paternæ mortis.* Benvenuto da Imola, *Commen.*, p. 1050, calls Guido *vir alti cordis—magnæ probitatis.*

[3] *Dil. fil. nob. viro Guidoni de Monteforti Capitaneo exercitus Rom. Eccl.;* thus writes Martin IV. Guido was taken prisoner by Roger d'Oria in the naval battle near Naples in 1287, and died in prison at Messina. Dante saw Montfort's soul in hell: *colui fesse in grembo di Dio Lo cor che in sul Tamigi ancor si cola* (*Inf.*, xii.).

Gregory X., Pope, 1271–1276.

the pope.[1] The result of this compromise was, to Charles's sorrow, the election of an Italian, Tedald, a member of the house of the Visconti at Piacenza, the son of Uberto and nephew of Otto Visconti, Archbishop of Milan. He was a peaceful man, versed in the secular affairs of the Church but devoid of intellectual culture. The election of a priest, who had rendered no public services, who was merely Archdeacon of Liége, and who was now in the East, showed either that the cardinals were acquainted with Tedald's independent character, or that in their indecision they gave their votes to a pope to whom they were indifferent. Messengers bearing the decree of election hastened across the sea to Acre, where the pope-elect was in the company of the English crusader Edward, and the Archdeacon of Liége beheld with profound astonishment the distinguished fate that had fallen to his lot in the West.

He landed at Brindisi on January 1, 1272; was received by Charles in Benevento with the highest honours, and was given an escort; an embassy of the Romans greeted him in Ceprano, but he declined their invitation to come to Rome, hastened to Viterbo and Orvieto, and only thence came to the city. He made his entry on March 13, accompanied by King Charles. A papal procession was a spectacle which had now become novel to the Romans.

He enters Rome, March 13, 1272.

[1] *Compromissum electionis Gregorii PP. X.*, of September 1, printed in F. Cristofori, *Le tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, 1887, p. 208, f. The six cardinals were: Simon of S. Martino, Guido of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, Richard of S. Ang., Octavian of S. Maria in Via Lata, John of S. Niccolò in Carcere, Jacopo of S. M. in Cosmedin.

For two popes, Tedald's predecessors, had ascended the sacred chair and descended to the grave without ever having entered Rome. By means of an Italian the Papacy was now brought back to its seat. On March 27, Tedald Visconti received consecration in S. Peter's, and called himself Gregory X.[1]

The new Pope, more fortunate than his predecessor, entered on a new world under fully matured conditions. After popes who had initiated deadly wars and had thundered excommunications against kings and nations, a priest could ascend the steps of the high altar and stretch his unstained hand in blessing over the world. Gregory X. was conscious of a great mission, and the actions of this noble man were indeed those of a conciliator and a prince of peace. The war with the empire was fought out, the combatants lay dead; the last surviving son of Frederick II., King Enzio, passed away in his prison in Bologna precisely at this juncture on March 14, 1272, a day after the new Pope's entry into Rome. The world had forgotten him, and in his prison he had outlived the tragic overthrow of his house.[2] Within a short time several monarchs who had been conspicuous in the immediate past—Lewis IX., Richard of Cornwall, Henry III. of England—quitted the stage of history. Other kings ascended their thrones, a new order had been established in a more prosaic world. When Gregory X. inherited the Papacy, he found the aim of his predecessors already

Death of King Enzio, March 14, 1272.

1 His first encyclical is dated from Rome on March 29.

2 He was only forty-seven years of age. He was buried with royal honours. His epitaph in Bologna is modern.

accomplished; the State of the Church had been restored; Sicily had again become a papal fief under a new dynasty; the Hohenstaufen theory was overcome; the fundamental idea of the Papacy, the universal spiritual and judicial power, appeared as the ripe fruit of the great victory.

But the giddy height to which the principles of Innocent III. and of his successors had raised the Papacy was, in the nature of human things, artificial and untenable. Gregory X. saw himself utterly alone; among the mighty ones of earth none stood by his side. His glance rested only on the cold face of Charles of Anjou, who had forced his way to the side of the sacred chair, not as a serviceable vassal but as a burthensome protector. Of the two powers on which the Christian world, the visible kingdom of God, had rested, one was destroyed; the deep void must be filled, the empire must be restored, since without it the Church felt herself devoid of support. According to the ideas of the time from none but an emperor could the new Italy, the new State of the Church, receive security from a constitutional point of view. Germany offended by the popes, the Ghibelline spirit, the political world in general had to be reconciled by the popes in the restoration of the Holy Roman Empire.

Isolation of the Papacy.

The attempt to transfer the crown of the Swabians to a foreign prince was shattered against the rights and the awakening consciousness of Germany. Alfonso of Castile, it is true, hoped to obtain the imperial crown on the death of Richard (April 2, 1272), but Gregory X. refused his claims as un-

founded. After long hesitation the German princes, under the leadership of Werner, Archbishop of Mainz, elected Count Rudolf of Habsburg King of the Romans on September 29, 1273. Save for the opposition of Ottocar, King of Bohemia, the election was unanimous; it was also spotless, since not in his most audacious dreams had Rudolf ever hoped for the crown.[1] After an interregnum of two and twenty years the empire again found its head.

Rudolf of Habsburg, King of the Romans, Sept. 29, 1273.

Rudolf of Habsburg is renowned in history as the restorer of order in disorganised Germany, as a man of peace and justice, and as the founder of a celebrated dynasty. In his chivalrous youth (he was born on May 1, 1218, and had been held at his baptism by Frederick II.) he had served under the Hohenstaufen banner and had obtained notice—though fortunately for himself in no prominent degree—in the wars of the great emperor, as well as in those of Conrad IV. If previously he had been a disciple of the Hohenstaufen principles, he renounced them immediately on ascending the throne. An unknown man, without hereditary right, a creature of the choice of the princes and of episcopal favour, he resembled the new Pope in the entirely new circumstances of his power. His vocation, united to genuine virtues, combined to fashion this serious, unimaginative, and commonplace man into a good and successful prince.

He notified his election to Gregory X. in a letter, which clearly depicts the altered aspect of affairs.

[1] *Formidavimus conscendere tante speculam dignitatis, quodam nimirum attoniti tremore et stupore;* thus Rudolf writes to the Pope in October 1273. *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 383.

Would a king-elect of the house of Swabia have written what Rudolf of Habsburg wrote? "I fix my hopes on thee, and fall at the feet of thy Holiness, humbly entreating thee to uphold me in the duty I have undertaken with thy benevolent favour, and that thou wilt vouchsafe me the imperial diadem."[1] So entirely were the claims, the principles and also the rights of the ancient German empire surrendered to the Pope. Rudolf was crowned at Aachen on October 24. If to the imagination of that period the long vacancy of the empire appeared like a terrible moral darkness, this darkness must have vanished when Rudolf seated himself on the imperial throne; and—the papal throne being already filled—the two lights of the world, the sun and moon, again moved in their spheres. With this simile the Archbishop of Cologne began a letter to the Pope, written to announce the coronation of the Habsburg prince, whose Catholic sentiments and whose royal virtues he extolled, and for whom he begged recognition and the imperial crown.[2] Rudolf might have felt secure of both, for Gregory X. sincerely exerted himself to establish in the empire a new ruler, who was above suspicion in the eyes of the Church, who

Reconciliation between the Papacy and the empire.

[1] *In vobis anchora spei nostre totaliter collocata, sanctitati vestre pedibus provolvimur. . . . Placeat vestre, quæsumus, sanctitati, nos imperialis fastigii diademate gratiosius insignire.* See the letter quoted above, and the humble letters of 1274 and 1275 (Cenni, *Monum.*, ii. 320, 342). Rudolf made use, for the first time, of the formula *pedum oscula beatorum*, like the mendicant ex-emperor Baldwin; the formula of devotion previously used by emperors was merely *filialem dilectionem et debitam in Christo reverentiam.*

[2] Letter of Engelbert of October 24, 1273; *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 393.

was capable of restoring peace, whose elevation at the same time placed the desired limit to the ambition of Charles of Naples. For Gregory X. was the first Pope who curbed the overweening power of this vassal king; and this he accomplished with deliberate calm, and without using any force.

2. GREGORY X. JOURNEYS TO LYONS — THE GUELFS AND GHIBELLINES IN FLORENCE—COUNCIL AT LYONS—GREGORY X. ISSUES THE DECREE CONCERNING THE CONCLAVE—RUDOLF'S DIPLOMA IN FAVOUR OF THE CHURCH—GREGORY X.'S VIEWS RESPECTING THE RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH TO THE EMPIRE—PRIVILEGIA OF LAUSANNE—GREGORY X. IN FLORENCE—HIS DEATH—INNOCENT V.—HADRIAN V.—JOHN XXI.

A Council in Lyons had decided the fall of the empire; a Council in Lyons was to restore peace to the world, to give a head to the empire, and to unite Christendom in a great Crusade. Gregory X. summoned a general Council of the Church; still remaining under the mediæval delusion, that it was the mission of Europe to deliver Jerusalem, he dedicated his chief energies to the East, whence he had come himself to take the sacred chair. His mind was filled, as that of Honorius III. had previously been filled, with the plan of a Crusade, which was the essential object of his Council.

From Orvieto, which he made his abode as early as the summer of 1272, he travelled in company with King Charles to Lyons in the spring

Gregory X. in Florence, 1273.

of 1273.[1] He entered Florence on June 18; he came as a peace-maker, his incessant care being dedicated to the endeavour to reconcile the Guelfs and Ghibellines throughout Italy. But his efforts were unsuccessful. Party hatred remained for two centuries the malady that possessed mankind, the mode in which their virile force found expression, the creative principle of their life. Its wild passions, inherited and become a political religion, severed and inspired all the cities of Liguria, of Lombardy, Tuscany and the Marches. Scarcely had Gregory X. achieved a public act of reconciliation in Florence, when the flames broke forth with fresh fury, and he left the city of the Guelfs and Ghibellines filled with indignation, a bull of excommunication in his hand.

The Council in Lyons, May 7 until July 17, 1274.

The great Council was opened on May 7, 1274, and lasted until July 17. Gregory had the satisfaction of persuading the Greek Church to consent to union with Rome, a triumph which he owed to the exertions of S. Bonaventura, Cardinal of Albano, who, however, died before the end of the Council. The emperors of Byzantium repeated the vain profession whenever they had need of the support of

[1] The brief, in which he makes over the government of Todi to his nephew, *Vice comes de Vicecomitibus*, Rector of the Patrimony, is dated from Orvieto, July 11, 1272 (S. Fortunatus Archives, *Reg. Vet.*, fol. 68). From Orvieto (on July 23, 1272) he orders Rayner, his vicar in Rome, to protect Terracina, Piperno, Sezza, and Aquaputrida against the prosenator, who was demanding tribute and a contingent at the games (*certam comitivam ad Urbem transmitterent causa Ludi de Testacio vulgariter nuncupati, qui in dicta Urbe annis singulis exercetur*). Parchment with leaden seal, *Gætani Archives* xlv. n. 6.

the West; the aim and the results of the union offered in Lyons were, however, for the shrewd Michael Palæologus his recognition by the West; and thus Charles of Anjou found his designs for the conquest of Greece frustrated by the far-sighted Pope.

The law of conclave of Gregory X.

A celebrated decree, issued in Lyons, determined for the first time the form of the conclave at the papal election. After the death of the pope the cardinals were to await their absent brethren in the town where the death had taken place; were then to assemble in the palace of the late pope, each attended by one servant only, and were to occupy one common room, the entrances and exits of which were to be built up, one window alone being left through which food could be handed in. Should the pope not be elected within three days, then were the cardinals to be allowed one dish only at dinner and the same at supper for the five following days, after which they were to be restricted to wine, bread, and water. All intercourse with the outer world was forbidden, under pain of excommunication. The duty of watching the conclave was entrusted to the secular authorities of the town in which the election took place, but a solemn oath pledged these officials to the conscientious fulfilment of their important duty, under penalty of the interdict being imposed upon them, in case of their breach of faith. If, as the Church asserts, the papal election is the work of heavenly inspiration, then must hunger and thirst appear as curious means of attracting the Holy Spirit to the aid of dissentient and procrastinating cardinals. It may cause surprise to the un-

believing that the High Priest of Christianity should be elected by a few squabbling old men, immured like prisoners in a room without air or light, while the magistrates of the city guarded the approaches, and the excited populace surrounded the palace, in order to await the moment when the wall should be thrown down, in order to cast themselves on their knees before a man, hitherto unknown, who, with hand upraised in blessing, issued from the conclave weeping or radiant with joy. The cradle of the pope was a prison, from which by one step he ascended the throne of the world. The form of election of the supreme head of religion, so different from every other mode of electing a ruler, is curious, as all other institutions of the mediæval Church. We may further notice how strangely the ceremonial of the papal election had been altered in the course of time.

The celebrated Constitution of Gregory X. was the consequence of the three years of dispute which had preceded his own election. But the rigidity of the form of the conclave appeared, and frequently was, intolerable. It was only with reluctance that the cardinals submitted to a law which might expose them to ill-usage at the hands of civic tyrants. One of Gregory's immediate successors abrogated the decree, but it was soon after revived, and still virtually exists. The aim of the conclave is to secure independence of election, and even to hasten it by physical means. But the history of papal elections may answer the question, whether the thickest walls of a conclave are thick enough to be inaccessible to

the influence of the outer world, and to resist the bribes, the fear, hatred, party favour, selfishness, and other passions, which can force their way through strong walls with as little resistance as the mythic gold into the tower of Danae.[1]

Envoys of the King of Castile appeared at the Council and were refused admittance; envoys of Rudolf of Habsburg and were received with honour. His chancellor confirmed in his name the diplomas of earlier emperors to the Church, especially the charters promulgated by Otto IV. and Frederick II., which assured the recognition of the new imperial authority. He confirmed the State of the Church; he renounced the ancient imperial rights, every dignity or authority in S. Peter's territory and in Rome; he renounced all claim on Sicily and every thought of revenge on Charles, whom he recognised as a papal vassal sovereign in a kingdom for ever separated from the empire. He granted an amnesty to all the friends of the Church, the enemies of Frederick II. and his heirs; he declared himself ready to swear to his promises if Gregory desired, and also to bind the princes of Germany to abide by them. The entire empire was to recognise the privilegia of Otto and Frederick as incontrovertible, and the State of the Church was thus to be guarded

Rudolf of Habsburg renounces the imperial rights in Rome and the State of the Church.

[1] The Constitution is given in the *Ceremoniale continens ritus Electionis Rom. Pont. Gregorii P. XV. jussu editum*, Rome, 1724. It follows on the Constitutions of Nicholas II., 1059, and of Alexander III., 1180. The earliest instance of a conclave is afforded by the election of a calif on the death of Omar (644), when the six elector-candidates were confined in a house guarded by fifty men. Weil, *Gesch. d. Chalifen*, i. 129.

against overthrow through the caprice of individual emperors. Rudolf, standing in need of the Pope, who could arm powerful enemies — Bohemia and Sicily—against him, consented without any further regard to the empire to Gregory's demands. And Rudolf was far removed from the errors of his predecessors, who had again exalted into an imperial dogma the imperial rights, which they themselves had renounced by treaty, and who had thereby found their overthrow.

Is recognised by the Pope as King of the Romans.

Gregory X. consequently recognised the Habsburger as King of the Romans.[1] He showed a livelier impatience to crown him emperor than Rudolf showed to undertake the journey to Rome. The Pope, in his happy situation, reminded himself of the attitude of benevolent reciprocity of the two powers — the Church and the empire, sister and brother—at enmity with each other, but nevertheless riveted by a secret bond of sympathy; he no longer talked in mystic similes of sun and moon, but like a practical man recognised that the Church was the highest authority in spiritual matters, the empire in secular. "Your office," he said, "is of a different nature, but the same end and aim indissolubly unite them. That their unity is essential is shown by the evils that arise when one fails the other. If the sacred chair is vacant, the empire lacks the dis-

[1] The Acts of Lyons of June 6, 1274, are given in *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 394, and, with the interpolated diplomas of Frederick II., in Theiner, i. n. 330. Letters of the Pope to Rudolf and the princes of the empire, *ibid.*, n. 332. Gregory X. pronounced the public recognition of Rudolf on September 26.

penser of salvation; if the throne of empire is empty, the Church remains abandoned, defenceless to her persecutors. It is incumbent on emperors and kings to protect the liberties and rights of the Church, and not to deprive her of her temporal property; it is the duty of the ruler of the Church to maintain kings in the full integrity of their power."[1] After the high-flown declamations of a Gregory IX. and an Innocent IV., who in the popes would only see the sole lawful rulers of the universe, in kings only the creatures of papal investiture, it is satisfactory to hear the voice of calm reason in the mouth of Gregory X. The Papacy had undoubtedly attained its desires. Not only impotent emperors but also all the electors of Germany now acknowledged the principles of Innocent III., while they explained, without further consideration, that the emperor received the investiture of his power from the pope, at whose nod he had to wield the temporal sword.[2] Gregory X. consequently made peace with an empire which was such no longer. But the priestly ideal, which he erected from the peaceful

The empire recognises the supremacy of the Pope

[1] *Sacerdotium et Imperium non multo differre merito sapientia civilis asseruit, si quidem illa, tamquam maxima dona Dei a celesti collata clementia, principii conjungit idemptitas — alterum vid. spiritualibus ministret, reliquum vero presit humanis . . .* dated Lyons, February 15, 1275. Theiner, i. n. 336. In the same letter he invites Rudolf to his coronation on November 1. The same day he exhorts him to send an army to Lombardy in May. *Ibid.*, n. 338, 339.

[2] They themselves call the Pope *luminare majus*, the emperor *luminare minus—hic est qui materialem gladium ad ipsius nutum excutit et convertit.* Ratification of the diploma of Rudolf in September 1279. *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 421.

interdependence of the two powers, remained, in spite of the victory of the papal idea, merely a dogmatic dream, which was destroyed by the rapidly growing consciousness of nations and states.

Returning from Lyons in June 1275, the Pope met the King of Castile at Beaucaire, when Alfonso, after long hesitation, renounced his claims. Gregory encountered Rudolf at Lausanne, and here, on October 20 and 21, the King of the Romans renewed the promises made at Lyons, while at the same time they discussed the proposal of a marriage between his daughter Clementia and Charles Martel, grandson of Charles of Anjou.[1] The conclusion of peace with the empire was to be celebrated in Rome with the solemn ceremony before the imperial coronation, and the latter was fixed for February 2, 1276. Rudolf's diplomas merely repeated or confirmed the diplomas of Otto IV. and Frederick II. Had their ratification been the sole fruits of the destructive wars of half a century, then could no heavier accusation be brought against the weakness or the folly of humanity ; the results of the Hohenstaufen struggle, however, like those of the struggle for the investiture, were other and less material than those recorded on the parchments.

Gregory X. returned satisfied to Italy, where he hoped soon to crown the new head of the empire. On December 18 he reached Florence. But, since

[1] The Acts of Lausanne: *Ego Rudolphus* and *Ab eo solo, per quem reges regnant*, in *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 403. Rudol. with great deference here makes use of the expression *Beneficia*, which had provoked such a storm in the time of Barbarossa.

Florence lay under the interdict, the Pope could not enter it. The Arno, however, was impassable, and Gregory found himself obliged to absolve the city during his sojourn. He blessed the people, who flocked to meet him; he entered Florence like sunshine, but as soon as he passed through its gates he again raised his hand to curse, and threw the Florentines back into darkness—a curious scene, which reflects the genuine spirit of the Middle Ages. Arrived at Arezzo, the Pope fell ill, and, to the misfortune of the sacred chair, died on January 10, 1276. The pontificate of Gregory X. was brief, fortunate, and eventful; he shines as the Titus of his age. Although he had not been able to conclude the concordat with the empire, he had nevertheless laid the necessary and practical basis. An honest success rewarded an honest activity.

Death of Gregory X., Jan. 10, 1276.

Every one lamented the loss of the best of popes, except the sullen King Charles. He exerted himself to procure the election of a pope who would be complaisant towards himself, and partly attained his object, although the three unimportant successors of Gregory X. followed one another quickly to the grave. On January 21, 1276, a Frenchman by birth was elected in Arezzo, Peter of Tarantaise in Savoy, Archbishop of Lyons, and since 1275 Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, the first Dominican who became pope. He hastened to Rome, where he received consecration as Innocent V. on February 23. A willing servant of Charles, he immediately confirmed the King in the office of Senator and even in that of Vicar of Tuscany, an act that offended Rudolf of

Innocent V., Pope, 1276.

Habsburg. The work of peace, so happily begun by Gregory X., was threatened with danger. The arrival of Rudolf in Rome and an outbreak of war with Charles were feared. For the King of the Romans did not hide his displeasure, and his plenipotentiaries had already received in the name of the empire the oath of homage from the Romagna. The new Pope urgently required him to remain far from the Italian frontier until he had fulfilled his obligations, and especially until he had surrendered the Romagna to the Church.[1] In this province, which since the time of the Ottos had always belonged to the empire, but which had already been promised, although not consigned, to the sacred chair, Rudolf still wished to retain the imperial rights, less with the intention of reserving them for himself than in order to have at hand a means of threatening the Pope. For Innocent still continued to allow the imperial rights in Tuscany to be administered by Charles. Meanwhile, he died in Rome on June 22.

Charles, being in the city, was empowered by his senatorial authority to watch over the conclave, and also possessed the means of influencing it. With unsparing severity he shut up the cardinals in the Lateran, where he had the windows of their room so firmly walled up that scarcely a bird could have found entrance. The French and Italian cardinals wrangled for eight days, after which water, wine, and bread only were supplied them ; nevertheless Charles's adherents found themselves well looked after and were able to

[1] Innocent V. to Charles, dated from the Lateran, March 2, 1276. Letter to Rudolf, of March 17. Theiner, i. n. 349.

maintain an illegal correspondence with the King.[1] This harshness and dishonesty irritated the Italians, especially their leader John Gætanus Orsini, who never forgot the conclave. After a tedious conflict an Italian was appointed: Ottobonus de Fiesco, the aged Cardinal-deacon of S. Adriano, was proclaimed as Adrian V. on July 12.

Adrian V. Pope, 1276.

The nephew of Innocent IV., who recalled a past which ought to have remained undisturbed, died after thirty-nine days at Viterbo, on August 17, 1276, without even having been consecrated priest. Immediately after his election he had revoked the law concerning the conclave promulgated by Gregory X., either on account of sufferings endured in his incarceration, or because he recognised that the strict observance of the form was impossible.

Charles was a second time deceived in his hopes; since again a Frenchman was not elected. The factions among the cardinals fought long and bitterly, amid constant tumult of the citizens of Viterbo, who refused to yield obedience to the decree of the late pope, but shut up the electors in strictest conclave. Here, through the influence of the powerful Gætanus Orsini, the Cardinal-bishop of Tusculum was elected on September 17. He called himself John XXI.

Petrus Hispanus Juliani, Archbishop of Braga, a Portuguese by birth, and the only member of his nation who ever became pope, was the son of a physician and himself skilled in medicine; he was also versed in philosophic studies, and was the

John XXI., Pope, 1276–1277.

[1] Saba Malaspina, p. 871.

author of works on medicine and scholastic subjects. Gregory X. had learned to esteem him at the Council of Lyons, had appointed him Bishop of Tusculum, and taken him to Italy. Ignorant chroniclers speak of John XXI. as a magician; they call him at the same time learned and silly, a wise fool upon the sacred chair, a man without presence or dignity, who loved learning and hated monks.[1] Even in the thirteenth century the populace looked upon a pope who was versed in astrology and science with the same superstitious dread as they had regarded Sylvester II. in the tenth. Discontented and ignorant monks depicted John XXI. in odious colours; they were suspicious of his learning, which lay not in sciences reputed canonical, but in studies foreign to the cloister; and his easy manner of dealing with men, even the most insignificant, but more especially with the learned, awoke envy and derision. What John might have been as pope he was not able to show the world. He died on May 16 at Viterbo, which he made his residence, and where he enlarged the papal palace. The unusual manner of his death also contributed to foster the childish belief that he was a magician. He was killed by the fall of a

[1] Bernh. Guidonis, p. 606; and the *Memoriale Potest. Reg.*, p. 1141, which gives an account almost word for word the same as the former work. They are both derived from the simple Martinus Polonus: *Joannes Papa, magus, in omnib. disciplinis instructus, religiosis infestus.* In Köhler, *Vollständ. Nachricht von Papst Joh. XXI.*, Göttingen, 1760, we find the works attributed to this Pope. He ought to have been called John XX.; but as people still believed in the existence of Pope Joan, he called himself John XXI. (Ciacconius).

ceiling in a room which he had built in the palace of Viterbo.[1]

3. Vacancy of the Sacred Chair—Nicholas III. Orsini, Pope—Recognition in Imperial Law of the State of the Church—The Romagna is ceded to the Pope—Berthold Orsini, first Papal Count of the Romagna—Charles renounces the office of Vicar in Tuscany and the Senatorial power — Constitution of Nicholas III. concerning the Senatorship—Matthew Rubeus Orsini, Senator — John Colonna and Pandulf Savelli, Senators—Nepotism—Death of Nicholas III., 1280.

The sacred chair again remained unoccupied for six months, during which the cardinals administered the affairs of the Church from Viterbo.[2] Charles,

[1] Bernh. Guidonis, p. 606: *licet scientia physicali et naturali multum esset repletus, tamen discretione et sensu naturali multum erat vacuus.* John must have had second sight; it was said that he had seen himself laughing in the room which he himself had built: he must have been endowed with a singular character. He also admonished Rudolf not to come to Italy until he had surrendered the Romagna. Theiner, i. n. 353. He also ratified the decree of Adrian V., which abolished the law concerning the conclave: Raynald, *ad A.* 1276, n. 27. On October 7, 1276, King Charles tendered him the oath of vassalage, with the guarantee that neither he nor any of his house should consent to be made Roman emperor, German king, or ruler of Lombardy or Tuscany, or ever unite Sicily with the empire; Documents in F. Cristofori, *Le Tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, p. 343 f.

[2] They wrote to Rudolf on July 27, 1277, begging him not to come to Italy until he had fulfilled the treaties. Raynald, n. 48, and Theiner, i. n. 355.

eager to procure the elevation of a pope of his party, prevented the election, but did not attain his object, since the Latins opposed the Frenchmen in the conclave with ever-increasing success. After the impatient citizens of Viterbo had immured the electors in their municipal palace, the most influential of the cardinals, John Gætanus Orsini, was proclaimed Nicholas III.

Nicholas III., Pope, 1277–1280.

This arrogant son of Matthew Rubeus, the celebrated Senator of Frederick II.'s time, had inherited not the pious temperament, but all the energy of his father. Under Innocent IV. he had been made Cardinal of S. Niccolò in Carcere, patron of the Order of Minorites, and Inquisitor-General. He had served under eight popes and had assisted at seven papal elections. He had raised John XXI. to the sacred chair and had probably also ruled him. Educated in science, experienced in all secular affairs, he was the undoubted head of the College of Cardinals.[1] His illustrious Roman family had held the highest offices in the Church and the republic since the end of the last century, and the fact endowed the cardinal with a princely consciousness, but betrayed him as pope into the practice of an unbounded nepotism. He was, in fact, a Roman noble, powerful and regal, who regardlessly accumulated wealth, and was utterly worldly. But he loved his ancestral city, and, not devoid of patriotic feeling for his country, was filled with hatred to the foreigners

[1] *Argus et argutus in eccl. Dei.;* he is thus spoken of even as cardinal by Saba, p. 872. His mother was Perna Gætani, hence his name.

who ruled within it. Had Nicholas III. filled S. Peter's chair instead of Clement IV., the house of Anjou would certainly never have entered Italy.

John Gætanus Orsini, who took the name of Nicholas III., the first Roman to ascend the sacred chair since Honorius III., was consecrated in Rome on December 26, 1277. His brief pontificate is rendered important by the favourable conclusion of the concordat with Rudolf of Habsburg, and the recovery of the rights over the Roman Senate. The fleeting reigns of his predecessors had led to no definite treaty with the new head of the empire. Rudolf had repeatedly expressed his intention of going to Italy, and the popes had repeatedly dissuaded him. The idea that the first Habsburg voluntarily renounced the journey to Rome and the imperial crown is mistaken. He demanded it frequently and with the greatest urgency, and precisely because the imperial dignity was necessary to the foundation of his dynasty. The concessions which he made to Nicholas III. were, in fact, the conditions of his coronation as emperor. Nothing but the domestic affairs of Germany and the rapid change of popes prevented him, as in former times Conrad III., from undertaking the expedition to Rome. He was even invited by the Italian cities, which, torn asunder by factions, looked to him as their saviour. The great Ghibelline Dante never forgave either Rudolf or his son Albert, for having abandoned to their fate the garden of the empire and widowed Rome; but for this very reason

Germany had cause to thank the rising house of Habsburg.[1]

Nicholas III. wished to establish the State of the Church on the foundations of constitutional law; this was his primary object. He demanded from Rudolf the revival of the treaty of Lausanne, and required that the extent of the State of the Church should be documentarily specified, according to its cities, as it had been in earlier diplomas. The State was to be established once and for all according to the widest limits of ancient donations. At Vienna on January 19, 1278, Rudolf empowered the Minorite Conrad to revive the privileges of Lausanne, and on May 4 the envoy signed the deed in Rome.[2] Parchments from the papal archives were produced to prove by document the right of the Church to the Romagna and Pentapolis. True, it was impossible to show the earliest and most celebrated of all deeds of gift; the series, however, began with the so-called privilegium of Lewis the Pious and proceeded to the

Fresh privilegium of Rudolf for the recognition of the State of the Church, May 4, 1278.

[1] The opinion of John Victoriensis, namely, that Rudolf had declined at Lausanne the invitation to the coronation, *quia Romam vix aliquis priscor. venerit sine humani effusione sanguinis, nec coronam adeptus fuerit propter obsistentiam Romanor.*, is unfounded (Böhmer, *Fontes*, i. 307). Read the piteous letter of the Pisans to Rudolf, A. 1274, Cenni, *Mon.*, ii. 330: *Ecce provincia Thusciæ—iacet in universitate schismatum lacerata bellis, et plusquam civilibus laceratur—Guelfus persequiter Ghibellinum, filii fiunt exules. . . .*

[2] Ratification of Vienna, February 14, 1279, in which are the Acts of January 19 and May 4, 1278, Theiner, i. n. 387. Rudolf undertook to execute a diploma with a gold bull on his coronation. This, however, did not take place. On the other hand, the princes of the empire ratified his deeds in September 1279: *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 421. Theiner, i. n. 393.

diplomas of Otto I. and Henry II. The Pope sent a copy of the passages relative to the subject to Germany, and Rudolf, without instituting any critical enquiry, accepted these imperial diplomas as genuine. The oldest gift of lands to the Church were those of the Exarchate and Pentapolis, donations of Pipin. The popes had not realised their claims to these provinces, which since the time of the Ottos had been held by the empire, without any pope ever having raised an objection. Rudolf also resisted the surrender of territories, which he himself called the "Orchard of the empire"; but yielded before the resolute will of Nicholas III., who offered him the imperial rights, wielded by Charles in Tuscany, as the condition of his surrender. The popes with great dexterity made use of Rudolf as well as Charles in order to curb the one by means of the other. On May 29 Rudolf entrusted his envoy Godfrey to annul the acts of his chancellor, who had demanded the oath of fidelity from the Romagna in the name of the empire; and the German ambassador gave the document containing the cession of the lands in question to the Pope.[1]

Rudolf surrenders the imperial territory of the Romagna to the Pope, June 30, 1278.

Nicholas III. now hastened to take possession of the Romagna in order to provide for his family in a princely manner. His envoys required cities and nobles to do homage to the Church; the greater number yielded, some refused. Founders of dynasties, men of intellect and energy, who on a larger theatre would have been capable of glorious deeds, had, since Hohenstaufen times, arisen in these cities

[1] Theiner, i. n. 368 and 388.

partly as Guelfs, partly as Ghibellines, had seized the government in the decayed republics, and founded more or less permanent signories. These signories combated the power of the pope during three centuries more vigorously than the democracies were able to do. The nobles who ruled them were called "tyrants" (*tyrampni*) in opposition to the republican authorities, and were tyrants in the sense of the city-tyrants of antiquity, despots or royal podestàs, whose power was limited by the communes. Taken as it were by surprise, they now did homage to the Pope. The Malatesta of Veruclo in Rimini, the Polentani in Ravenna, Guido of Montefeltre, formerly pro-senator of Arrigo of Castile in Rome, soon afterwards, thanks to cunning and audacity, tyrant of almost the entire Romagna, and excommunicated by the Church, made submission. Even powerful Bologna, torn asunder by the factions of the Lambertazzi and Geremei, acknowledged for the first time the supremacy of the Church over the city and its territory. This celebrated city, "the fruitful mother of men of brilliant learning, of high statesmanship, dignity and virtue, the perennial fount of the sciences," was henceforward regarded by the popes as the most precious pearl in their temporal crown.[1]

The tyrants in the Romagna do homage to the Church.

The Pope again sent his rectors into these pro-

[1] *Ipsa quidem civitas inter alias Ytalicas speciali prerogativa fecunda viros eminentis scientie, viros alti consilii, viros prepollentes dignitatib. et virtutib. precellentes solet ab antiquo propagatione quasi naturali producere, ipsa veluti fons irriguus, scientiar. dulcedinem scaturit.* Nicholas III. thus praised Bologna: Theiner, i. n. 389.

vinces as in the time of the Carolingians; he made his nephew Latinus Malabranca, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, legate, and Berthold Orsini, his brother's son, first Count of the Romagna for the sacred chair.[1] Ursus, another nephew, was made Rector of the Tuscan patrimony.[2] In order to inspire respect for this nephew, he took Neapolitan troops under William L'Estendard into his service, Charles, as vassal of the Church, being obliged to acquiesce.[3] The Romagna thus passed into the valid possession of the popes. They jealously guarded this jewel, but the defiance of the Romagnuoli was not to be repressed. The cities manfully preserved their liberty, and merely remained under the protectorate of the Church. Their history under the papal sceptre is one of incessant revolt and of incessant change between tyranny and democracy.

Bertold Orsini, Count of the Romagna.

The result of the treaty with Rudolf was the weakening of Charles's power. It was said that the King personally hated Nicholas III. and that he was no less hated by the Pope, who was offended by Charles's refusal to sanction the marriage of his

[1] The letters of the Pope to the cities of the Romagna, and the acts of submission of these cities are found in Theiner, i. n. 365 *sq.* In n. 374 the appointment of *Bertoldus de Fil. Ursi* as rector *totius prov. Romaniole, civitatis Bononiensis, &c.*, Viterbo, September 24, 1278. Nevertheless, through her syndics Bologna preserved all the rights of the city. The document of July 29, 1278, executed in Viterbo, is kept in the Archives of Bologna, *Reg. Nov.*, f. 383, with other protests of the same city. These documents are wanting in the *Cod. Dipl.* of Theiner.

[2] Potthast, 21,365, brief of July 24, 1278, in which *Ursus de filiis Ursi* is thus spoken of.

[3] In September 1278. Theiner, i. n. 375.

niece to a nephew of the Pope. Be that as it may, a man of such independence must have set a limit to the influence of the King. Nicholas deprived him of the office of Vicar of Tuscany, since Rudolf demanded it as compensation for the loss of the Romagna.[1] He compelled him to resign the senatorial power also, the ten years for which Clement IV. had conceded the power to Charles having expired on September 16, 1278. The King came to Rome on account of these weighty matters and there held negotiations with Nicholas and the Romans from the beginning of May until June 15.[2] He was obliged to yield to the will of the Pope and to declare himself ready to renounce the senatorial dignity. Nicholas himself went to Viterbo in June, whence he sent the Cardinals Latinus and Jacopo Colonna to Rome with full power to adjust the relations of the Senate with the sacred chair, while Charles's officials remained in office until September.[3]

Charles I. resigns the office of Senator, September 1278.

[1] Charles resigned on September 24, 1278. His last vicar in Tuscany was Raymund de Poncellis (Theiner, i. 372). On January 5, 1281, Rudolf appointed two imperial vicars for Tuscany (Böhmer, 104).

[2] Charles's *Regesta* (vol. 31, 1278, D.) contain several letters to the officials of the Capitol. The first is dated April 2, 1278, *apud Turrim S. Herasmi prope Capuam;* then Charles dates from Rome from May 8 until June 15. On June 18 he was at Sculcula on his way home. He wrote to the Pope himself: *Et cum XVI. die m. Sept. proximo futuri dictum decennium finiatur . . . regimen . . . dimittam. Dat. Rome apud S. Petrum A.* 1278, *die XXIV. m. Maii VI. Ind. Cod. Vat.*, 3980. Ep. 32, fol. 132*a*; this fine codex contains the *Regesta* of Nicholas III.

[3] The mandate, Viterbo, July 27, 1278, in Theiner, i. n. 370. *Alme Urbis gesta magnifica resonant et acta testantur, quod ipsa Urbs dignitatum immensitate precellens est et dicitur capud orbis;*

The Pope emphatically explained to his plenipotentiaries that he himself neither laid claim to the election of the Senator, nor wished to assume any such right, since the interference might be fraught with danger to himself and the Church. He recognised the electoral right of the Romans;[1] but this right lost its importance, if the Roman Senate reverted to the conditions of investiture established by Innocent III. To attain this state of things was no difficult matter for the powerful Orsini. Towards Rome, his native city, he was filled with a patriotic love. To overcome the French influence, in March 1278 he had created cardinals three Romans belonging to the highest rank of the nobility, Latino Frangipani Malabranca, Jacopo Colonna, and his own brother, Jordan Orsini. His national sympathies won even the Ghibellines to his side, and Charles was not even popular with the Guelfs, whose power the popes themselves now strove to check. While Nicholas deprived the King of the senatorial power, he wished by law to prevent the office from ever again falling into the hands of a foreign prince. On July 18, 1278, he issued an epoch-making Constitution.

Senatorial Constitution of Nicholas III., July 18, 1278.

ibique Deus omnip. Eccl. suam fundari voluit et Romano titulo nominari. . . . Charles's last officials in Rome were John de Fossames, prosenator, Hugo of Besançon, chamberlain, and Rogerius de Ars, marshal (*Regesta* at Naples).

[1] The instructions, which are absent from Theiner, are found in the *Cod. Vat.*, 3980, as Ep. xv., Viterbo, August 3, 1278. *Non enim intendim. quod iidem nostri processus tales existant, quod ex eis posset convici vel adverti, quod de ipsa electione nos intromittere quoquomodo velimus, vel super hoc aliquod jus seu possessionem—vendicare. Nam ob id possit tunc nos magnum scandalum populi formidari.*

He therein traced the rights of the popes over Rome back to Constantine, who had transferred to them the government of the city, in order that the Papacy might be independent. The cardinals, he explained, must give free advice to the pope; his judgment should never waver; no mundane terrorism should ever make the decision of the cardinals swerve from the truth; the election of the Pope, the appointment of the cardinals, must take place with perfect freedom.[1] He recalled the evils which had been entailed by the appointment of foreign princes as senators; the destruction of the walls, the disfigurement of the city by ruins; the robbery of private property and of the churches; disgraceful vacillation such as was exemplified in the reception of Conradin. In order to restore the entire independence of the Church, peace, and the prosperity of the city of Rome, he would issue, in agreement with the sacred college, a law that henceforward no emperor or king, no prince, margrave, duke, count or baron, or even any powerful nobleman of their kinsfolk, should either temporarily or permanently become senator, captain of the people, patricius, rector or official of the city; and that no one should be appointed for more than a year to such office, without permission of the pope, under penalty of excommunication both of electors and elected. On the other hand, the burghers of the

[1] *Fratres ipsos nullus sæcularis potestatis metus exterreat, nullus temporalis furor absorbeat—Rom. pontificis Vicarii Dei . . . electio et eorumd. Cardinalium promotio in omni libertate procedant.* How often have not these arguments for the necessity of the continuance of the Papal dominion over Rome been repeated since 1859!

city, even if they were relatives of those excluded, and if invested with not too great a degree of power as counts and barons outside the city, should still be competent to hold the senatorial office for a year or for any shorter period.[1]

This modification in favour of the Romans was intended to compensate them for the important rights which the civic parliament had already transferred to the pope. To many it might appear patriotic; nevertheless it contained a permanent danger, for the edict of Nicholas III. encouraged the ambition of the great patrician houses, which now attained a new greatness. Orsini, Colonna, Anibaldi, and Savelli henceforth strove for power in the Senate, and sought, as other families in other cities, to become tyrants of Rome. It was only the permanent relation of the city to the Papacy, and the division of the nobles into factions, that served to maintain the balance of power between them, and prevented one or the other family from seizing supremacy in Rome, as it had been seized in the times of the counts of Tusculum. The nobility, who ruled the popular parliament, had willingly acquiesced in the demands of Nicholas III., and had transferred the civic power to him for life, not as to the pope, but as to Orsini, the Roman noble. He did not, however, succeed in permanently uniting the senatorial office with the papal authority. He never called himself Senator, although Rome had invested him with the power of regulating the civic govern-

The city nobility acquire increased power.

[1] Constitution *Fundamenta militantis ecclesiæ*, Viterbo, *XV. Kal. Aug. Pont. nri a. I.*; complete in Theiner, i. n. 371.

ment and of nominating the senators.[1] Several popes henceforward were made senators by the Roman people, not as popes but as individuals. As they personally acquiesced in the election—maintaining, as a rule, the rights of the Papacy at the same time—and became the chief officials of the city, there arose a curious combination in the papal person of sovereignty and a feudal office, transferred to them by the Republic.

Charles very unwillingly resigned the senatorial power into the hands of the Romans. In a letter of August 30, to John de Fossames, his vicar, and to Hugo de Bisuntio, his chamberlain in Rome, he ordered the fortress of Rispampano, all other fortresses and towers both in and outside the city, and the prisoners on the Capitol to be surrendered on the appointed date to the plenipotentiaries of the Roman people, and in no wise to the Pope.[2] His formal resignation took place in the beginning of

[1] He writes to the Romans, Viterbo, September, 24, 1279: *nobis disposition. vestri regiminis quoad vixerimus commisistis, volentes spiritualiter et temporal. illius ducatu dirigi, quem ipse Deus Urbis patrem instituit sub imposito vob. jugo Apostol. servitutis.* Muratori has already refuted the statement of Bonincontrius, vi. 30, *qui solus officium Senatoris Romæ administravit.*

[2] *Script. est Johi de Fossames Senesc. Viromandie Vicario, et Magistro Hugoni de Bisuntio camerario in urbe . . . fidelitati vre. precipimus quaten. recipientes Roccam scu castr. Rispampani a Steph. de Tolona castellano d. castri—tam—castrum præd. quam cuncta alia . . . in urbe vel extra urb. posita quæ sunt hacten. ratione Senatorie urbis pro parte nre. celsitudinis custodita, adveniente termino resignationis regiminis urbis—illi vel illis cui Populo Romano placuerit liberare debeatis et etiam assignare. . . . Dat. apud Lacum pensilem penult. Aug.* (*Reg. Caroli*, i. 1278, D. n. 31). Vitale, who is here very cursory, is unacquainted with this.

September, when Nicholas III., with the consent of the Romans, elected his own brother, Matthew Rubeus Orsini, Senator for a year.[1] Matthew was succeeded by John Colonna and Pandulf Savelli in October 1279.[2]

Matthew Rubeus Orsini, Senator, 1278–1279.

John Colonna and Pandulf Savelli, Senators, 1279.

Charles might hold himself recompensed for the loss of his power by the peace which the Pope concluded between him and Rudolf of Habsburg in 1280, when the King of the Romans recognised the King of Sicily. Charles again explained that he did not wish to infringe the rights of the imperium, and received Provence and Forcalquier as fiefs of the empire.[3] The shrewdness of Nicholas III. had consequently achieved an important work: peace with the empire, the confirmation by imperial law of the sovereignty of the State of the Church, the limitation of Charles's power, and the subjugation of the Capitol. In a long series of popes, he was the first to return to the peaceful possession of the temporal supremacy

[1] *Papa posuit pro se senatorem in Urbe ad suam volunt. unum suum parentem* (*Annal. Plac.*, p. 571). In the *Book of Decretals* of Todi, Matthew Rubeus is called Senator as early as September 1, 1278. But, according to Charles's letter of August 30, the King could not yet have resigned his office on September 1, although Matthew was already Senator-designate. On September 5, 1279, *D. Math. Rubeus de fil. Ursi A. U. Senator Ill. et dei gr. potestas Tudertinus* is still found in office (Archives of Todi, *Reg. vetus*, fol. 68).

[2] Vitale (p. 179) quotes the letters of the Pope, according to which John Colonna and Pandulf Savelli were appointed for a year from October 1, 1279, Viterbo, September 24, a. 11. The letter to the city of Rome begins: *Infra Urbis mœnia degit populus ingens et sublimis.* The popes for the first time adopt the phraseology of the emperors in addressing Rome.

[3] *Mon. Germ.*, iv. 423.

of the sacred chair. A monarchical spirit dwelt in the Orsini pope—an example to many of his successors, who were little more than secular princes in papal vestments, ruling over beautiful provinces of Italy. In Nicholas III. the great ideal of the Papacy had already fallen to the level of national politics.

He was the first pope since Innocent III. who undertook to found principalities for his family, and this, undoubtedly, at the cost of the State of the Church. Nepotism, the scourge of the Church in later days, dates from him. This vice and his love of money exposed him to bitter censure, and caused Dante to assign him a place in his hell. Nicholas, in fact, erected a Zion in his own kith and kin.[1] Had he carried out his plan of transforming Italy (outside the State of the Church) into three kingdoms, Sicily, Lombardy, and Tuscany, he would have installed his nephews as sovereigns in the two latter. The popes were able to indulge in these extravagant ideas after the destruction of the imperial power. Nicholas, as a Roman noble, loved splendour and extravagance, nor was he averse to procure them at the expense of the Church and of Christendom. He rebuilt the Lateran and Vatican residences at enormous cost, and also erected a beautiful country house at Soriano, near Viterbo, where the popes dwelt at the time. In defiance of all law he had deprived a Roman noble of

[1] *Ædificavit enim Sion in sanguinibus*, Salimbene, p. 55. *Nimis fuit amator suorum:* Ptol. Lucensis, xxiii. c. 31. Dante (*Inferno*, c. 19) found this pope among those guilty of simony :—

E veramente fui figliuol dell' Orsa,
Cupido si per avanzar li orsatti,
Che su l'avere ; e qui me misi in borsa.

this fortress and given it to his nephew Ursus.[1] He died here of a fit of apoplexy on August 22, 1280, after a memorable reign of somewhat less than three years. Death of Nicholas III., August 22, 1280.

4. Peter Conti and Gentilis Orsini, Senators—Tumultuous Papal Election at Viterbo—The Anibaldi and the Orsini — Martin IV. — He confers the office of Senator on King Charles—Martin ruled by Charles—Revolution in Sicily—The Vespers—Revolt in Rome —The French Prosenator expelled—Giovanni Cinthii Malabranca, Captain of the People—The Pope yields—Anibaldo Anibaldi and Pandulf Savelli, Senators—Deaths of Charles I. and Martin IV.

The death of Nicholas III. gave the signal for tumults in Rome: the Anibaldi rose against the insolent Orsini, and the populace took the side of the former. The Senators in office were expelled, and two others were appointed—Peter Conti, a member of the Anibaldi faction, and Gentile Orsini, son of Berthold, who belonged to the opposite party. A Peter Conti and Gentile Orsini, Senators, 1280.

[1] In a treaty concerning the reception of the Curia, Viterbo promised: independence of action for the judges of heretics, good accommodation for the palace, free lodging for the cardinals and people about the court, to appoint magistrates devoted to the Church, board on reasonable terms for the members of the Curia, to give no shelter to courtesans. Theiner, i. n. 359, May 20, 1278. Similar promises in the time of Nicholas III., printed by F. Cristofori, *Le tombe dei Papi in Viterbo*, Rome, 1887, p. 203 f. Concerning Soriano, see Ptol. Lucensis, c. 31, and Francisc. Pipin, p. 724.

joint government was to reconcile the claims of the two parties.[1]

The papal election, meanwhile, was more uproarious than ever. Charles's party fought against the Latin party of the late pope in the conclave at Viterbo, where Charles himself had gone to install a pope who would recompense him for his losses. Richard Anibaldi, who had arrived at an understanding with the King, had already thrust Ursus Orsini from the office of podestà, and had taken upon himself the duty of watching the conclave. Headed by him the citizens of Viterbo attacked the episcopal palace, where the election was proceeding, seized two cardinals of the house of Orsini, Matthew Rubeus and Jordan, ill-treated them and shut them up in a separate room. Meanwhile, the remaining electors proclaimed the new Pope on February 22, 1281.[2] This was Simon, a Frenchman, Cardinal of S. Cecilia under Urban IV., who as legate in France had for several years conducted negotiations with Charles concerning the conquest of Sicily. He was a man of quiet disposition, active and disinterested, but who showed no ability as Pope. He was averse to his own election, and was only induced by force to assume the papal vestments. He ascended the

Martin IV., Pope, 1281–1285.

[1] *Vita Nicol. III.* (Murat., iii. i. p. 608). The same account with better readings in *Descr. Victor.*, p. 850, and *Chron. Guill. Nangis ad A.* 1280. Both Senators appear in a document of November 21, 1280, Brugiotti, *Epitome Juris Viarum.* . . . Rome, 1664, p. 33, n. 48.

[2] Concerning this incident, see the letter of Honorius IV. in Raynald, 1281, n. 2, and Jordani Chron. in Murat., *Antiq.*, iv. 1012.

sacred chair as Martin IV., and immediately placed himself in the hands of his friend, King Charles. And thus, through his weakness, the barriers were again demolished behind which his vigorous predecessor had thrust his vassal.

In order to tranquillise the continued disturbances in Rome, Martin IV. immediately sent two cardinals as intermediaries to the Roman people.[1] He was himself anxious to follow them in order to be crowned in S. Peter's, but since the refractory Romans refused to receive him, the coronation could not take place. The new Pope went to Orvieto after having laid Viterbo under the ban on account of excesses committed at the papal election. The legates, however, soon after attained the fulfilment of the Pope's desires in Rome, and the Pope yielded to Charles's wishes, namely, the restoration of his senatorial power. The act violated, it is true, the Constitution which Nicholas III. had just recently solemnly promulgated; Martin IV., however, was able to bind and to loose, and simply annulled the edict of his predecessor, while the disunited Romans, already accustomed to serve powerful princes, had not the energy to prevent him. The following arrangement was agreed upon. Peter Conti and Gentile Orsini, the late Senators, were appointed electors by a parliament of the people, whereupon (March 10, 1281) they made over the entire senatorial authority to Martin IV. for life, not as Pope, but in his individual capacity, with the additional power of appointing his

The Romans invest Martin IV. with the senatorial power,

[1] Letters to the Romans and to Charles, Martene, *Vet. Mon.*, ii. 1280, 1284.

representative.[1] Envoys of the Roman people went to Orvieto, and on their knees handed to the Pope the parchment that contained his nomination as Senator. The Pope appeared to place no value on the honour, but acted as one who, receiving an inconvenient present, reflects whether or not he shall accept it; finally, he condescendingly agreed.[2] For form's sake he first sent his vicar, Peter de Lavena, to the Capitol; then, recognising that the actual restorer of peace in the city could be none other than King Charles, he himself, on April 30, 1281, made over to him the senatorial power for his own (the Pope's) lifetime.[3]

and Martin makes Charles I. Senator, April 1281.

The King willingly resumed possession of the same dignity of which Nicholas III. had so recently deprived him for good; and after an interval Frenchmen (his prosenators) again ruled on the Capitol.[4]

[1] *D. Martino pp. IV. non ratione papatus vel pontificalis dignitatis, sed rat. sue persone, que de nobili prosapia traxit originem—plenarie commiserunt regimen Senatus Urbis ejusque territorii et districtus toto temp. vite sue, et—potestatem regendi Urbem ejusque—districtum per se, vel per alium seu alios, et eligendi, instituendi seu ponendi Senatorem, vel Senatores*—Act on the Capitol *die lune X. Martii IX. Ind.* inserted in the bull of April 29. Vitale, p. 592.

[2] *Nosque nostris adjiciens laborib., ut eor. discrimina vitarentur, electioni, translationi, commissionis et potestatis dationi predictis consensum prestitimus cum multa instantia postulatum.* Bull of April 29.

[3] Bull to Charles, *Orvieto III. Kal. Maji, Pont. nri. a. I.*

[4] Known as such are Philip de Lavena, William L'Estendard, Goffred de Dragona. On July 13, 1282, Lavena lay in camp before Corneto, where envoys appeared from Perugia. Document in Coppi, *Dissert. della Pontif. Acad. Romana*, xv. 261. Goffred de Dragona is mentioned on April 25, 1283: C. Min. Riccio, *Saggio di Cod. Dipl.*, i. n. 200.

Charles's vicars—he appointed his most trusted knights and councillors to the office—appeared in all the pomp of senatorial power, clad in scarlet trimmed with fur. They received an ounce of gold a day; they had a knight as Camerlengo or representative beside them; another as marshal with forty troopers, eight Capitoline judges, twelve notaries, heralds, ushers, a physician, a chaplain, from thirty to fifty warders, a keeper for the lions, which were retained as a symbol in a cage on the Capitol, and other officers. They sent castellans to such places as were crown lands of the city, such as Barbarano, Vitorclano, Monticello, Rispampano, Civita Vecchia, and a count to Tivoli.[1]

Charles, and with him the Guelf party in Italy, rose to greater power throughout the whole peninsula. He was again the recognised patricius of the Church. Pledged as feudal vassal to provide the Pope with troops, he readily served him with arms in the State of the Church, in order to lay claim in return to the rights of a protector. Martin IV. was so entirely in his power, that for the most part he only appointed royal councillors as governors of the patrimonies. The chief offices fell into the hands of Frenchmen. Frenchmen ruled everywhere from

[1] Evidence in Vitale in a letter of Charles to L'Estendard, p. 188. P. 192, we find civic castellans *castrorum Pespansan* (read *Rispampano*) *et Civitatis vetule.* The guards on the towers were called *Turrerii.* In several cities, in Florence for instance, lions were kept at the cost of the city. In the Statutes of Rome of 1363 (iii. c. 79) it was decreed that a part of the proceeds accruing from the games or Testaccio should be bestowed on the keepers of the lions *cum leo in capitolio viverit.* Camillo Re. (*Bull. d. Com. Arch.*, 1882, x. p. 103)

Sicily to the Po, and the freedom of the cities, which had been spared by far-sighted popes, was menaced with overthrow. Charles's general, John de Appia, was even appointed in place of Berthold Orsini as Count of the Romagna, where the indignant Ghibellines under Guido of Montefeltre again boldly raised their heads in company with the Lambertazzi, who had been banished from Bologna.[1] The most celebrated jurisconsult of the time, the Provençal William Durante, was spiritual legate in the same province. Sicilian troops were stationed in the March, in Spoleto, even in Tuscany and Campania, and were commanded by royal courtiers in the service of the Pope, over whom Charles in person watched like an Argus in Orvieto.

Charles I.'s power in the State of the Church.

A great event, however, suddenly destroyed the new grandeur of the King and the laborious work of the French popes. After the short dream of dearly-bought security, the Roman Curia awoke to a new anxiety, the source of which was Sicily. The ill-used island rose against Charles of Anjou on March 31, 1282. The celebrated Sicilian Vespers constitute the sentence for all time pronounced by nations against foreign rule and tyranny; they were also the

The Sicilian Vespers, 1282.

[1] The name is sometimes written Epa, sometimes and more correctly Appia, as always in Charles's *Regesta*. In the Archives of Bologna (*Reg. Nov.*, fol. 377 *sq.*) are found the edicts which John de Appia issued for the Romagna at Imola on February 13, 1283, six folio leaves of parchment. They contain severe laws relating to the immunity of the Church, to heretics, and to persons guilty of high treason. *In civ. Ymole in pallatio comm. per mag. et nob. v. Johem. de Appia tocius prov. Romagnole civitatis bonon., comitatus bretenorii et pertinentiar. eorund. per S.R.E. comitem et general. rectorem.*

first successful restoration of the popular rights in the face of dynastic claims and cabinet intrigues. The Sicilians murdered all the French on the island, abjured Charles's yoke, and appealed to the protection of the Church. The terrified Martin rejected their demands, and the heroic nation now gave the first victorious example of an entire country throwing aside the feudal links which bound it to the Church. As early as the end of August Peter King of Aragon landed at Trapani, entered Palermo amid the rejoicings of the multitude, and took the royal crown of Sicily from the people. Manfred's son-in-law, the husband of Constance, came as the heir and representative of the Hohenstaufen rights, and the Swabian family thus for the third time appeared in history, now transformed into a royal house of Spain.[1] Charles had hastened from Orvieto to his kingdom, only to suffer a disgraceful defeat. The successful revolution immediately found an echo in the republics of Italy, and the Ghibellines, inspired with fresh courage, seized their arms; even the cities of the State of the Church, so repeatedly injured in their rights, arose. Perugia renounced the popes.[2] The carnage in Palermo had been repeated at Forli on May 1, 1282, when 2000 Frenchmen, under the

Peter of Aragon, King of Sicily, August 1282.

[1] *Tu vero Nerone neronior, et crudelior saracenis, innocentem agnum in tuo reclusum carcere mortis judicio subjecisti* . . . beautiful letter of Peter to Charles, Martene, iii. 32. The people of Palermo called him *Auro ebrius alter Crassus ;* Letter to Martin IV., p. 36.

[2] The citizens of Perugia even ventured to burn publicly straw effigies of the Pope and the cardinals dressed in purple—the earliest example of the exercise of this curious kind of popular justice which I have found recorded in history.

command of John de Appia, enticed thither by a stratagem of Montefeltre's, were massacred.

Meanwhile in Rome Charles's bitter enemies, the Orsini, were striving to recover their lost power. Banished by Richard Anibaldi and the French pro-senator, Philip de Lavena, they threw themselves into Palestrina and here offered resistance. The desire for freedom stirred among the Romans when they saw that Charles's power was tottering and that the Guelf party was shaken throughout Italy. They would no longer obey the King, their Senator, nor the Pope, who had retired to the fortress of Montefiascone, while they themselves undertook a military expedition against Corneto.[1] Vain were Martin's entreaties; even a famine in the autumn of 1283, which he strove to alleviate, increased the excitement. Aragonese agents scattered gold and seduced grey-haired Ghibellines from their hiding-places. Conrad of Antioch, the sole witness of the terrible day of Tagliacozzo, who had escaped execution and imprisonment, again appeared, collected followers at Saracinesco, and passing beyond Cellæ along the Valerian Way, only too familiar to him, tried to enter the territory of the Abruzzi, where the fall of his house had been accomplished. He determined to recover his county of Alba; his attempt, however, failed, since the papal rector of the Campagna and Stephen Colonna of Genazzano dispersed his troops. But the old Ghibelline entered the Abruzzi in the following year and occupied several fortresses, and

Conrad of Antioch and other Ghibellines rise.

[1] Martin IV. had a great liking for Montefiascone. To him are due the fortress and the papal residence there. Villani, vi. c. 58.

the Pope was forced to send John de Appia against him. Revolts took place simultaneously in Latium.[1]

In the meantime the Orsini acquired the upper hand in Rome. The Capitol was taken by assault on January 22, 1284, the French garrison was slain, the Prosenator Goffred de Dragona was thrown into prison, Charles's senatorial power was pronounced extinct, and a popular government was appointed. Such were the consequences in Rome of the Sicilian Vespers. A nobleman related to the Orsini, Giovanni Cinthii Malabranca, brother of the celebrated Cardinal Latinus, was appointed captain of the city and defensor or tribune of the republic.[2] Martin IV. in Orvieto, learning of the revolution, lamented the infringement of his rights, but yielded under protest. He confirmed Giovanni Cinthii as captain of the city, although only in the capacity of a prefect for the relief of the poor for six months; he recognised the

The Romans rise, 1284.

John Cinthii Malabranca, captain of the people.

[1] On October 15, 1284, the Pope wrote from Perugia to the Rector of Campania: *Conrado de Antiochia—cum quibusd. perditionis filiis partes ipsius regni invadere per castrum Celle temere attentante, tu una cum dil. filio nro. Stephano de Genazano . . . eos . . . debellasti.* Raynald, n. 15, *Ibid.*, A. 1285, n. 9, a letter from the Pope to the citizens of Andria. Adinolf rebelled in the Campagna.

[2] Concerning the storming of the Capitol, see *Ann. Plac. Gibellini*, p. 577; *Vita Martini* (Murat., iii. 609). *Johem. Cinthii fratem D. Latini, tunc Hostiens. Ep. in Capitaneum urbis et Reip. defensor. invocaverunt.* I find Joh. Cinthii and his family in a document from *S. M. in Via Lata*, of March 12, 1286, in which *D. Angela de Paparescis* appears as *uxor nob. viri Dni. Johis. Cinthii Malabrance* (*Mscr. Vat.*, n. 8044). Villani, vii. c. 54, wrongly calls the house of Cardinal Latinus by the name of Brancaleoni instead of Malabranca. The cardinal was the son of Nicholas III.'s sister, and his father was a Malabranca. Quetif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicator.*, i. 436.

priors elected by the guild of artisans and consented to the election by the Romans of a prosenator, who was to reign on the Capitol beside the captain. The administration of the civic revenues was entrusted to a single magistrate, the Camerarius Urbis.[1] His astute compliance tranquillised the revolt; Richard Anibaldi, who had formerly ill-treated the Orsini in the conclave at Viterbo, now made submission, and at the Pope's command went barefoot, a cord round his neck, from his home to the palace of Cardinal Matthew to sue for pardon.[2] A public reconciliation of the factions took place. It was recognised that Charles's government was set aside, and the populace willingly received two papal representatives endowed with senatorial power, Anibaldus, son of Peter Anibaldi, and the energetic Pandulf Savelli. And Rome thus returned to the national system established by Nicholas III.[3]

Anibaldus Anibaldi and Pandulf Savelli, Senators, 1284.

The following year, 1285, witnessed the death of both Charles and Martin IV. The King, crushed and severely punished by the loss of Sicily, died at Foggia on January 7. He left the land, which he had conquered amid streams of blood, plunged in

[1] *Concedemus vobis vicarium, vel vicarios et camerarium—Joannes Cinthii sicut capitaneus super grassiæ facto dumtaxat* (this is a restoration of the *præfectus annonæ*). *Tolerabimus — volentes — experimento probare,—an expediat vobis in posterum, quod remaneant artium capita:* Martin to the Romans, Orvieto, April 30, 1284, Raynald, n. 17.

[2] Ptol. Lucensis, *Hist. Eccl.*, xxiv. c. i.

[3] *Romani ad mandat. D. Papæ reversi susceperunt vice D. Pape duos vicarios Senatoriæ, vid. Hanibaldum Petri Hanibaldi, et Pandulfum de Sabello, sub. quor. regimine quieti fuerunt: Vita Martini*, p. 610.

the same tempestuous condition in which it had been when he entered it. His ambitious plans were shattered; the heir and avenger of the Hohenstaufens had successfully penetrated into his country; he foresaw his own throne vacant on his death, since Charles II., his son and heir, was a prisoner in the power of Peter of Aragon. A short time after the King, Martin IV. also died in Perugia, which had again made submission to the Church on March 28, 1285.[1] Although, owing to the aid of the same Guido de Montfort who had murdered the English prince (and whom he had absolved in order to set up a rival to the Ghibelline Guido of Montefeltre), and owing also to the support of the King of France, he had been successful in reducing the Romagna and many cities to obedience, he nevertheless left Italy in flames behind him.[2] The Ghibellines, whom he had countless times excommunicated, were not subdued; and Peter of Aragon regarded with con-

Death of Martin IV., 1285.

[1] He is said to have died from a surfeit of fat eels. *Nutriri quidem faciebat eas in lacte, et submergi in vino.* Fr. Pipin, p. 726. Ben. of Imola, Commentary on Dante, p. 1224, says, with reference to the passage: *e purga per digiuno l'anguille di Bolsena: nec minus bene bibebat cum illis, quia anguilla vult natare in vino in ventre.*

[2] Concerning the appointment of Montfort, see the Pope's letter, Orvieto, *V. Id. Maji, a. III.*, Duchesne, v. 886; *Gesta Philippi III.*, *Recueil*, xx. 524. His daughter Anastasia was married to Romanellus Gentilis Orsini; through her Nola came to the Orsini. Her mother Margareta was heiress of the Aldobrandini estates of Pitigliano and Soana, which also fell to the Orsini. She had, without Guido's knowledge, married Tomasia (their eldest daughter) to Peter of Vico, Prefect of the city in 1295, and son of the well-known man of the same name. Tomasia, not yet eighteen years of age, claimed her paternal inheritance from Romanellus Orsini. Neapolitan State Archives, *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, c. 65, fol. 145.

tempt the anathemas which forbade him to wear the crown of Sicily. After countries and nations had long been sold, bestowed as presents, and trafficked with by popes and princes, the will of the people had arisen as the power which summons kings to authority. The same pope who, as papal legate, had inaugurated Charles's usurpation, was forced by a magnificent destiny to be the victim of this rebellion against the principles of dynastic authority. The antiquated weapons of excommunication were of no avail against the just sentence which fell on the two partners in iniquity, on Charles of Anjou and Martin IV.

CHAPTER V.

1. Honorius IV.—Pandulf Savelli, Senator—Relations with Sicily and the Empire—The Sacred Chair vacant for a Year—Nicholas IV.—Charles II. crowned in Rieti—The Colonna—Cardinal Jacopo Colonna—John Colonna and his sons, Cardinal Peter and Count Stephen—Rebellion in the Romagna — The Orsini opposed to the Colonna—Berthold Orsini, Senator — John Colonna, Senator, 1289—Viterbo rendered subject to the Capitol—Pandulf Savelli, Senator, 1291 — Stephen Colonna and Matthew Raynaldi Orsini, Senators, 1292—Death of Nicholas IV., 1292.

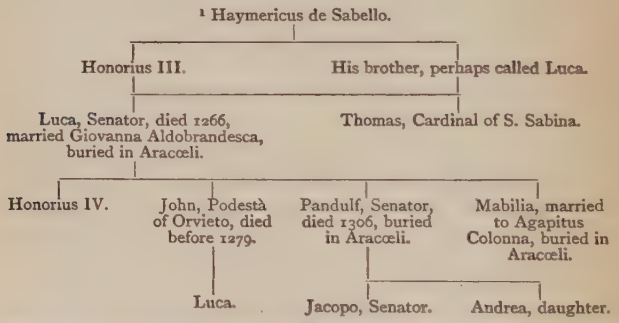
The consequence of the deliverance of the Church from Charles's long protectorate was the speedy elevation of a Roman to the sacred chair. As early as April 2, 1285, Jacopo Savelli, the aged and highly-respected Cardinal of S. Maria in Cosmedin, was elected Pope in Perugia. He hastened to Rome, where he was consecrated as Honorius IV. on May 15. He took the name of Honorius in honour of Honorius III., the first pope of his already powerful house. He was himself the son of the Senator Luca Savelli and of Johanna Aldobrandesca, a member of the family of the counts of Santa Fiora. Of his

Honorius IV., Pope, 1285–1287.

brothers, who had formerly fought under Charles's banner at Tagliacozzo, John was already dead, and Pandulf was, with Anibaldus, Senator of Rome.[1] Scarcely had Honorius IV. been elected when the Romans invested him with the senatorial power for life, and he forthwith confirmed Pandulf in the senatorship.[2]

Pandulf Savelli, Senator.

It is curious to see the two brothers, both gouty and incapable of motion, ruling the city, one as Pope from the palace beside S. Sabina on the Aventine, the other as Senator on the Capitol. Honorius was so crippled in hands and feet that he could neither stand nor walk alone. When he celebrated at the High Altar it was only by means of a mechanical contrivance that he was able to raise the Host; and


[1] Haymericus de Sabello.
Honorius III.
His brother, perhaps called Luca.
Luca, Senator, died 1266, married Giovanna Aldobrandesca, buried in Aracœli.
Thomas, Cardinal of S. Sabina.
Honorius IV.
John, Podestà of Orvieto, died before 1279.
Pandulf, Senator, died 1306, buried in Aracœli.
Mabilia, married to Agapitus Colonna, buried in Aracœli.
Luca.
Jacopo, Senator.
Andrea, daughter.

According to the MS. *History of the Savelli* by Panvinius; to Ratti, *Storia della fam. Sforza*, t. ii.; and to the inscriptions on the family vault.

[2] On February 13, 1285, *Pandulfus de Sabello et Anibaldus D. Transmundi* are called *Alme Urbis illustres Senatores;* document in the Communal Archives of the fortress of Aspra in the Sabina. In July and September 1285 *Ursus de filiis Ursi* and *Nicolaus de Comite* appear as Senators (Wüstenfeld, *Röm. Behörden*, *l.c.*, p. 619).

the gouty Pandulf was also obliged to be carried about on a chair. These worthy men, however, possessed sound intellect and were endowed with sagacity and force. Pandulf, limping about with the help of crutches on the Capitol, maintained such energetic rule that Rome enjoyed perfect security; the streets were safe, thieves were sent to the gallows, and the wild nobility did not venture on any outbreak. The Senator Savelli ruled the city as his brother's representative during the latter's pontificate.[1]

The brief reign of Honorius IV. was occupied by his care to establish peace in the State of the Church and by the affairs of Sicily. He removed the interdict with which Martin IV. had punished Viterbo for the outrages committed at the election; the city was obliged, however, to raze its walls; it lost its jurisdiction, its rectorate fell to the Pope; it was forced to surrender a series of fortresses to the Orsini. From this time the power of the hitherto prosperous town fell to decay.[2] After the great warrior of Montefeltre had laid aside his arms and

[1] He is honoured by a long inscription, placed between the arms of the Savelli, on the municipal palace of Todi, of which town he had been podestà in 1267.

Anxia civilis varia in discrimina belli.
Urbs ego clara Tuder ad te, Pandulphe Savelli,
Moribus et genere michi dux, paterque, potestas,
Ex attavis ducibus romano sanguine natus
Genti nostrali pacent das. . . .

Not quite correctly printed in the unfortunately unfinished *History of Todi* by Leoni (p. 320).

[2] Sentence of Honorius IV. *in palatio Ep. Eccl. Tiburtine*, 2 *non. Sept. a. I.;* in Pinzi, ii. 427.

been sent into exile, Honorius succeeded in tranquillising the Romagna. In 1286 the Pope made his cousin the Proconsul Peter Stefaneschi a count of the province. Naples was a greater source of anxiety. During the imprisonment of Charles II. the government of the kingdom had been administered by Robert of Artois and the papal legate Gerard. Sicily seemed lost. On the death of Peter (November 11, 1285), the sovereignty passed to his second son Don Giacomo (James), who, without any regard to the excommunications of the Pope, was crowned in Palermo in presence of his mother Constance. The great admiral Roger de Loria was everywhere victorious at sea: a Sicilian fleet under Bernard de Sarriano even landed on the Roman coast on September 4, 1286, where, in order to avenge Conradin, the Sicilians burnt Astura to the ground and put the son of the traitor Frangipane to death.[1]

Honorius stood in friendly relations with Rudolf

[1] Barthol. de Neocastro, c. 102, 103. The commune of Astura sold itself to the Frangipani. Treaty of October 5, 1287, of the *Pop. Castri Asturæ congreg. per comm. in platea d. castri . . . auct. dnorum d. castri scil. Manuelis, Petri et Jacobi Frajapan. et Jannonis vicecomitis d. castri . . . act. in d. Castro Asture in logia seu statio Dominor. ante Eccl. S. Nicoli* (*Gætani Archives*, xxxiv. 51). The Frangipani sold half of Astura to Peter Gætani for 30,000 florins; Peter sold it back to Peter Landulfi Frajapane on February 7, 1304. The boundaries: *ab uno lat. est mons Circegi. Ab alio Lacus Soresci et Crapolace et lacus Foliani. Ab alio tenim. Castri Concarum. Ab alio tenim. Castri s. Petri in Formis. Ab alio est ten. Castri Noctuni* (*Ibid.*, n. xxxiv. 54). On February 12, 1304, the people of Astura swore the *ligium homagium* to Peter Frangipane, when, as a sign of occupancy, the procurators put some of the sand of the seashore (*de arena maris*) in his hands. The long list of those who swore fealty shows that the place was still well populated.

of Habsburg. The imperial coronation, which the King of the Romans had repeatedly desired, was fixed for February 2, 1287; nevertheless the crown of Charles the Great was never placed on the head of the first Habsburg. Honorius died on April 3, 1287, in his palace on the Aventine. He had made his residence on the hill, merely spending the summer months in Tivoli, in order probably to avail himself of the sulphur baths of the *Aquæ Albulæ*. He left his family rich and respected. From his will, which he had made as cardinal and had ratified as Pope, it is evident that the Savelli were already powerful nobles in the Latin mountains and even in the territory of Civita Castellana. They owned a palace and fortress on the Aventine, palaces and towers in the region Parione, where their memory is still recalled by the *Vicolo de' Savelli*, and at a later date they built the huge palace, now known by the name of the Orsini, in the ruins of the theatre of Marcellus.[1]

Death of Honorius IV., 1287.

The Savelli powerful in Rome.

The cardinals held the conclave in the house of the dead Pope, but were unable to come to any decision regarding the election, and the sacred chair remained vacant a year. The hot season set in; six cardinals died of fever, the remainder sought safety

[1] Will of February 24, 1279, Ratti, *Fam. Sforza*, ii. 302; according to it the Savelli owned: *Albano, Castr. Sabelli, Castr. Leonis, Gandolfo, Castr. Fajole, Rignano, Cersano, Turrita, Palumbaria, Castr. Scrofani, Mons Viridis.* The will is ratified on July 5, 1285, *in Castro Palumbariæ in Palacio Arcis ejusd. castri.* Of houses and towers in the city, there are mentioned those *in monte de Sasso, et in alio monte posito supra marmoratam* (Aventine). The *Mons de Sasso* is believed by Martinelli (*Roma ex ethnica sac.*, p. 83) to be *Monte Giordano.*

in flight. The Cardinal-bishop of Præneste alone, contemptuous of death, endured solitude and the malarial atmosphere in the deserted chambers of S. Sabina, and was in consequence rewarded with the tiara. He was elected on the return of the cardinals to the Aventine in the winter, but was not consecrated until February 22, 1288. Jerome of Ascoli, a man of humble origin, a Minorite monk, and afterwards general of the order, had distinguished himself under Gregory X. as legate in the East, had been promoted by Nicholas III. to the patriarchate of Byzantium, and then to the bishopric of Præneste. He ascended the sacred chair as Nicholas IV. and was the first Franciscan who became Pope. He was a pious monk without thought of self, concerned only for the peace of the world, for a Crusade and for the extirpation of heresy.

Nicholas IV., Pope 1288–1292.

The Romans also conferred the senatorial power on him for life. The appointment of the popes as podestàs was frequent also in other cities.[1] They strove to obtain the magistracy and then appointed representatives. Their relation to the communes of the State of the Church was never other than that of supreme feudal lords towards vassals, with whom they had formed a treaty. The cities recognised the papal authority, furnished troops, paid ground rents,

[1] Terracina appointed Nicholas IV. (Contatore, p. 206); the Pope made Octavian de Brunforte, Rector of the Campagna, podestà of the place. Similarly, Ascoli also made over to him the rectorate for his lifetime (Theiner, i. n. 471). On March 25, 1286, *Ursus de filiis Ursi* appears as Senator (Act, concerning Viterbo, in Pinzi, ii. 440). On February 3, 1288, *Matthæus de filiis Ursi* (Wüstenfeld, *l.c.*, n. 30, p. 620).

submitted themselves in certain cases to the tribunal of the provincial legates, but they retained their statutes, their administration, and their civic autonomy. Each remained a republic with its peculiar customs and privileges. This energetic municipal spirit prevented the popes (who in order to curb the nobility) were obliged to respect it, from becoming territorial lords; but with great shrewdness they made use of the dissimilarity as also of the jealousy of the communes to weaken them by division. Some they deprived of the right of electing podestàs, while they gave it to others in return for a yearly tribute.[1] They prohibited political confederations of the cities, but frequently subdued one city by means of another. They showed themselves now of monarchical, now of democratic tendency; their rule was mild and weak, frequently patriarchal, always vacillating. The incapacity of establishing a universal law; the imprudent hostility towards the communal institution of legates unsupported by the weight of material strength; finally, the rapid changes on the papal throne, where there was no hereditary succession, fostered the curious condition of a purely mechanical union and of constantly recurring decay,

[1] Examples of this practice in the time of Nicholas IV. are given by Theiner, i. n. 480, ff.; especially for the cities of the March. The jurisdiction of the podestà, it is true, was limited by the spiritual forum and the right of appeal to the legates. For the right of electing the podestà smaller cities paid from 30 to 150 Ravennese pounds yearly (n. 482). The taxes due to the Church were moderate. The rents from 1290 to 1291 from the duchy of Spoleto amounted to 7760 gold florins, 41 solidi, and 4 denari. Theiner, i. 321.

which has ever been characteristic of the State of the Church.

Rome remained peaceful during the first year of the reign of Nicholas IV., until the spring of 1289. The Pope was then driven to Rieti, where he had already spent the previous summer.[1] He here crowned Charles II. King of Sicily. Owing to the exertions of Edward of England and of the Pope the weak son of Charles of Anjou had been released from his prison in Spain in November 1288, and now came to Rieti, where his coronation took place on May 29. In a document he professed himself, like his father, a vassal of the Church through its grace, swore to the feudal articles, and promised neither in Rome nor in the State of the Church to assume the authority of senator or podestà. An Aragonese party might look upon the coronation of Charles II. with distrust; but the disturbances in Rome owed their origin rather to the jealousies which the noble families cherished towards one another. The Guelf house of the Savelli, and the Orsini, to whom they were related, had for fifty years formed the most influential members of the Roman aristocracy, and thrust aside the once dominant Anibaldi. The new Pope was friendly to the Orsini, for Nicholas III. had made him a cardinal. He had adopted the name of Nicholas out of gratitude; but he soon turned to the Ghibellines, and more exclusively to the Colonna family.

Charles II. crowned as King of Sicily, 1289.

[1] *Annales Colmar. Major.* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvii.): A. 1289: *Papa Nicol expellitur de Roma—Rome pars pape a Romanis violenter ejicitur, et ex utraque parte plus quam quingenti numero perierunt.*

This celebrated house had paid for its Ghibellinism in the time of Frederick II. (when Cardinal John and his nephew Oddo stood in opposition to the Church), by slights received during the restoration of the papal rule. Not until the end of the thirteenth century did it appear as the most powerful family in Rome, destined for centuries to hold the foremost place in the city. Nicholas III. favoured the Colonnas, in order to weaken the Anibaldi; he made Jacopo, son of Oddo, a cardinal. Nicholas IV. bestowed a new splendour on the house. As Bishop of Palestrina he had been intimately connected with the family; it was perhaps to their influence that he owed the tiara, and as Pope he showed his recognition by loading them with honours. He made John Colonna, brother of Cardinal Jacopo, who had been Senator in 1280, Rector of the March of Ancona; of John's sons he made Peter Cardinal of S. Eustachio, Stephen Count of the Romagna.[1] This Roman proconsul became henceforward one of the greatest men of his family; was afterwards the patron and friend of Petrarch, and the tragic fortunes of his house during the time of the Tribune Cola di Rienzo lent celebrity to his name. Stephen was now in the prime of early manhood, fiery and impatient. As Count of the Romagna, he irritated the nobles and cities of the province by encroachments on the statutes of the communes. The sons of Guido di Polenta in consequence attacked him in Ravenna in

The Colonna return to power.

Stephen Colonna, Count of the Romagna.

[1] He also made an Orsini (Napoleon) a cardinal, because he was related to the Colonna by marriage: *per partire gli Orsini* (Villani, vii. c. 119).

November 1290, and imprisoned him and his court.[1] Rimini, Ravenna, and other cities rebelled, when the Pope sent Ildebrand de Romena as rector to the Romagna to quell the revolt and to release Stephen from prison.[2]

In Ursellus of the Campo di Fiori, son of Matthew, and at the time podestà of Rimini, the Orsini had also played a part in the rebellion. They looked with jealousy on the growing power of the Colonna, especially as the latter had ousted them from the Senate. And indeed after Pandulf Savelli had resigned his office, which he did apparently at the very beginning of the new Pope's reign, Nicholas IV., again favourable to the Orsini, appointed Senators, first Ursus and then Berthold, the former Count of the Romagna.[3] Nevertheless, as early as 1290,

Berthold Orsini, Senator, 1288 and 1289.

[1] On December 12, 1289, Stephen Colonna entered Rimini (where at this time the tragedy of Francesca took place; Hieron. Rubeus, *Vita Nicolai IV.*, p. 90); he was taken prisoner in November 1290, and released on January 24, 1291. Tonnini, *Rimini*, iii. 155. F. Pipin, p. 733, and Petri Cantinelli, *Chron.*, p. 282. The *Annales Cæsenat.* (Murat., xiv. 1107) give November 13 as the day of his incarceration.

[2] Bull of appointment for the bishop, Orvieto, December 22, 1290. It says: *cum autem—nuper nob. vir. Steph. de Colompna cui regimen prov. Romaniole—duximus comitendum, hiis dieb. ad civ. Ravenne accedens, pro ipsius—statu ad pacem—reducendo, ab Eustachio et Lamberto de Polenta—proditionaliter—captus fuerit et adhuc detineatur* (Archives of Bologna, *Reg. Nov.*, fol. 393).

[3] Berthold was Senator with Ricardus Petri Anibaldi in December 1288, and again in May 1289: Archives of Bologna (folio volume: Conventions between Bologna and other cities from the year 1226 onwards). Document n. 32, from the palace of the Quattro Coronati in Rome; Berthold acknowledges the receipt of compensation for damages from Bologna: *A.* 1289, *Ind. II. Pont. D. Nicolai PP. IV. a. I. die XII. m. Febr. In pres. rev. patris D. Benedicti S.*

the Colonna succeeded in overthrowing their rivals; John, father of Cardinal Peter, of Count Stephen, and of four other energetic sons, became Senator, after the resignation of Nicholas Conti and Luca Savelli.[1] The powerful Colonna, a true prince of the Campagna, on terms of intimate friendship with Charles II. of Naples, appeared in Rome with unaccustomed splendour. The populace led him on a car in triumph to the Capitol and acclaimed him as Cæsar, in order to take the field against Viterbo and other cities. The unexampled pageantry, a reminiscence of antiquity, showed the enthusiastic feelings or views which already stirred among the Romans.[2]

John Colonna, Senator, 1290.

Nicolai in Carcere Tull. Diacon. Cardis. . . . arbitri in omnib. causis . . . que olim vertebantur inter m. et n. vir. D. Bertoldum de fil. Ursi Romanor. Procons. nunc Alme Urbis Senatorem. . . . The Laudum (n. 52), dated December 17, 1288, already calls Berthold *nunc alme Urbis Sen.* I thus establish the date of his senatorship. As early as October 14, 1288, we have *D. Brectuldi et Dom. Riccardi de Militiis Senatoris Urbis:* Document of Corneto, Coppi, *Diss. della Pontif. Acad. Rom.*, xv. 267. On September 26, 1288, *Ursus de fil. Ursi et Nicol. de Comite* were Senators (*ibidem*).

[1] According to the letter of the Pope, Orvieto, September 27, 1290, he was certainly Senator in 1290: *dilecto fil. nob. vir Joanni de Columna Senatori Urbis;* Contatore, p. 207. The exordium *dudum tibi scripsimus* shows that John had long previously been Senator. On January 1, 1290, however, *Nicol. de Comite* and *Lucas de Sabello* were officiating as Senators; see Coppi, *ut supra*, and Wüstenfeld, n. 32.

[2] Notice in *Chron. Parm.* (Murat., ix. 819): *Eo anno* (1290) *Romani fecer. D. Jacobum de Columna eor. Domin. et per Romam duxerunt eum sup. currum more Imperator. et vocabant eum Cæsarem.* The *Chronicle* confuses Jacopo with John Colonna. John was highly distinguished by Charles II., who, on March 26, 1294, gave as fiefs to his sons Agapitus, Stephen and John, *Manopellum, Toceum, Casale Comitus, &c.*, out of friendship to their father and their uncle

Nicholas IV., dwelling chiefly in the Sabina, in Umbria or in Viterbo, had no real power in Rome, and was obliged calmly to allow the citizens to undertake a ruthless war against Viterbo, which in July and August 1290 had refused to take the oath of vassalage to Rome.[1] The Pope hereupon negotiated the peace. John Colonna, still sole Senator and ruler of Rome, concluded it in the name of the Roman people on the Capitol on May 3, 1291, when the envoys of the Viterbese, in presence of the syndics of Perugia, Narni, Rieti, Anagni, Orvieto, and Spoleto, renewed the oath of vassalage to the city, and pledged themselves to a heavy indemnity for damages, since in the war they had slain or taken prisoners many prominent Romans. This solemn act of state, which was succeeded by the restoration to amity of Viterbo through the Senator, shows the republic on the Capitol, under the government of the powerful John Colonna, as entirely a sovereign power as it had been in the time of Brancaleone.[2] The rule of the Colonna, nevertheless, called forth violent opposition among the nobility. The Pope was abused for having resigned himself so completely into the hands of one family; he was mocked in lampoons; he was caricatured as stuck fast in a column (the arms of the Colonna), from which his

He renders Viterbo subject to the Capitol, 1291.

Cardinal Jacopo. See the deed executed in Perugia (Colonna Archives, Armar. i., Fascic. i. n. 5).

[1] Declaration of war against Viterbo by the Senator *Iohes de Columpna*, September 8, 1290; Pinzi, ii. 462, who alleges several documents relating to the war between Rome and Viterbo.

[2] Documents in Pinzi, ii. 477 f., 479, 481. The Viterbese swore *vassallagium et fidelitatem Senatui Populoque Romano.*

head with the mitre alone appeared, while two other columns—the two Cardinals Colonna—stood beside him.[1] The Orsini finally succeeded in getting members of their party elected to the office of Senator. Pandulf Savelli again filled it in 1291; in the following year, however, it was divided between Stephen Colonna, the former Count of the Romagna, and Matthew Raynaldi Orsini.[2]

Death of Nicholas IV., April 4, 1292.

Nicholas IV. died in the palace which he had built beside S. Maria Maggiore on April 4, 1292. A short time before (on July 15, 1291) Rudolf of Habsburg had descended to the grave without ever having worn the imperial crown. At the same time the loss of Acre, the last Christian possession in Syria, closed the great world-drama of the Crusades. These military expeditions of Europe, which had lasted for two centuries like the Eastern wars of ancient Rome, had served the machinery of the Papacy as the strongest lever of universal supremacy. The close of the great struggle of the Church with the empire and the end of the Crusades henceforward narrowed the horizon of the Papacy. One stone after another

[1] The lampoon was called *Initium malorum:* Franc. Pipin, *Chron.*, p. 727.

[2] Vitale (p. 201) notes in a deed, which, however, he does not give, the names of John Colonna and Pandulf on May 29, 1291. With regard to Pandulf, he makes a mistake in referring to the Statutes of the Merchants, where I do not find him registered as Senator before June 12, 1297. In A. 1292, the *Chronicle of Parma* (Murat., ix. 823) says, *duo Senatores facti fuer. Romæ, unus quor. fuit D. Stephan. de Columna, et alius quid. nepos D. Mathei Cardinalis.* On May 10, 1292, *Stephanus de Columnensibus et Matheus D. Raynaldi de filiis Ursi* sign a peace for Corneto. *Cod. Margarita Cornetana*, Vatican copy, 7931, p. 174.

fell from its gigantic structure; the world withdrew its allegiance, and the sceptre of Innocent III. began to drop from the wearied hands of the popes.

2. The Factions of the Orsini and Colonna contest the Papal Election—Anarchy in Rome—Agapitus Colonna and one of the Orsini Senators, 1293—Peter Stefaneschi and Otto of S. Eustachio, Senators — Conclave at Perugia—Peter of Murrone elected Pope—Life and Portrait of this Hermit—His curious entry into Aquila, where he is consecrated as Celestine V., 1294—Is mastered by King Charles II.—Celestine V. at Naples — His Abdication.

The electors, only twelve in number (two Frenchmen, four Italians, and six Romans), were divided into the factions of the Orsini and Colonna, the former headed by the Cardinal Matthew Rubeus, the latter by Cardinal Jacopo.[1] In vain Latinus, Dean of Ostia, assembled them successively in S. Maria Maggiore, on the Aventine, and in S. Maria sopra Minerva. The papal election could not take place. When the heat of summer began, the non-

[1] The six Romans: Latinus Malabranca Orsini of Ostia, Math. Rubeus Orsini of S. M. in Porticu, Napoleon Orsini of S. Adriano, Jacopo Colonna of S. M. in Via Lata, Peter Colonna of S. Eustachio, John Boccamazi of Tusculum. The four Italians: Benedict Gætani of Anagni, of S. Martino; Gerard Bianchi of Parma, Bishop of the Sabina; Matthew d'Acquasparta of Todi, Bishop of Portus; Peter Peregrossi of S. Marco, a Milanese. The two Frenchmen: Hugo of S. Sabina, John Cholet of S. Cecilia. The Germans had vanished from the Sacred College, which had become entirely Roman.

Roman cardinals escaped to Rieti; the Roman remained; the ailing Cardinal Benedict Gætani went to Anagni, his native city. In September they returned to Rome, but the dispute dragged on until 1293, when, after another dispersion, they agreed, in dread of a schism, to meet in Perugia on October 18.

The strife among the cardinals was equalled by the anarchy in the city, where the election of the Senator was contested, where palaces were destroyed, pilgrims slain, and churches sacked. The nepotism of some of the popes had called into life the factions of the Colonna and Orsini, into which the Guelf and Ghibelline parties began to be transformed. Their struggles for the civic power form henceforth the characteristic features of the history of Rome. About Easter 1293 new Senators were elected, Agapitus Colonna and Ursus Orsini, whose speedy death was the cause of fresh feuds. The Capitol remained six months without a senator, the Lateran without a pope; the confusion was insupportable, until the better-minded citizens succeeded in restoring peace in October. Two neutral men were appointed Senators; the aged Peter of the Trasteverine family of the Stefaneschi, rector of the Romagna, and previously senator, and Oddo, a young Roman of the family of S. Eustachio.[1]

Peter Stefaneschi and Oddo of S. Eustachio, Senators, 1293.

[1] Vitale is uncritical for this period; the sole and frequently hieroglyphical authority is the metrical *Vita Coel. V.* by Jacopo Stefaneschi, son of the Senator Peter (Murat., iii. 621). A gloss of the author designates Agapitus as Senator (p. 621, n. 33). Vitale gives Math. Rainaldi Orsini and Richard Tedaldi as Senators in 1293. From October 1293 onwards the Senators were those mentioned in the text. Peter Stefani was podestà of Florence in 1280, when Cardinal Latinus

Conclave in Perugia, 1293.

About the same time the cardinals assembled in Perugia; the winter, however, passed away, and even a visit of Charles II., who went there to meet his youthful son Charles Martel, titular king and claimant of Hungary, made no impression.[1] Furious party jealousies prevented the cardinals from uniting their votes on any one of their company, and the result was an election, than which none could have been more unfortunate. The accidental mention of the visions of a pious hermit caused Cardinal Latinus, who personally knew and honoured the saint, to propose him as Pope. The suggestion might have appeared a jest, but it was agreed to in earnest; and the perplexed cardinals, who grasped at a straw, unanimously elected the hermit as Pope on July 5. The decree of election was made out, and three bishops departed to bear it to the saint in his solitude.

Election of the anchorite Peter, July 5, 1294.

The singular apparition of the anchorite Peter of Murrone in the tiara of Innocent III. carries us back to the darkness of earlier centuries, to the time of S. Nilus and Romuald. His pontificate, in truth, resembles, in the annals of the Papacy, a page from the story of some saint, in whom the legendary Middle Ages take leave of history. Peter, the

established peace there (Deed of January 18, 1280, *Cod. Ricardian.*, n. 1878, p. 349). His full name is Peter Stephani Raynerii; he thus calls himself when he held office with Oddo de S. Eustachio on May 12, 1294, in a document which I copied in the Aspra Archives (reaffidation of inhabitants of this commune by these two Senators).

[1] How things went on in Rome at this time is shown by the *Annals of Colmar: circa pasca* (1294) *quidam de progenie Ursina in Eccl. B. Petri peregrinos undecim occiderunt* (*Mon. Germ.*, xvii. 221).

eleventh and youngest son of a peasant from Molise in the Abruzzi, had become a Benedictine in his youth, and had been driven by mystic longings into solitude. He fixed his abode on the mountain Murrone near Sulmona, and there founded an order and a monastery dedicated to the Holy Ghost. This order afterwards received from him the name of the Celestine, and assumed that fanatical tendency, so dangerous to the universal dominion of the Church, which, under the severe Franciscans or the Spiritualists, had grown out of the doctrine of evangelical poverty.[1] The fame of his sanctity had spread throughout Italy. He had presented himself before Gregory X. at Lyons, and had received the ratification of his order. The anchorite must indeed have been no common man if he succeeded, as his biographer asserts he did, in hanging his cowl on a sunbeam before the eyes of the pope.[2] He was dwelling on Mount Murrone, occupied in penitential exercises, when the news of the election reached him—a surprising event which the spirits of the desert do not seem to have announced beforehand.

His life on Mount Murrone.

The breathless messengers climbed the shepherd's path up the limestone mountain to find the miracle-worker, whom they were to remove from a gloomy cavern to the most conspicuous throne of the world.

[1] By a diploma of July 31, 1294, given at Aquila, Charles II. took the *monasterium S. Spiritus de Murrono situm prope Sulmonam* under his protection. *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1293–1294, A. n. 63, fol. 213.

[2] *Et vir dei exutam cucullam ad solis radium in ære suspendit, non aliter quam suo imperio*—an exquisite conceit of the biographer of this saint. *Max. Bibl. Veter. Patrum*, vol. xxv. 760.

They had been joined by Cardinal Peter Colonna, and the report of so extraordinary an occurrence had attracted countless multitudes. Jacopo Stefaneschi, son of the ruling Senator, has graphically described in curious verses the strange scene of which he was an eye-witness. The envoys, having found the place, beheld the rude hut of a hermit, with a single barred window; a man with unkempt beard, with pale and haggard face, clad in a shaggy tunic, timidly surveyed his approaching visitors. They reverently bared their heads and prostrated themselves before him. The anchorite replied to their greeting in like humble manner.[1] On learning their errand, he may have believed it one of his fantastic hallucinations; for these unknown noblemen came from distant Perugia, a sealed parchment in their hands, to inform him that he was Pope. It is said that the poor hermit attempted flight, and was only prevailed upon to accept the decree of election by ardent entreaties, more especially by those of the brethren of his order. The statement is highly probable, although the verses of his biographer only represent a brief pause for prayer between the disclosure of the strange message and the courageous acceptance of the saint.[2] The resolve

The messengers sent by the conclave discover the hermit.

[1] *Nudare caput, genibusque profusi*
In facies cecidere suas; quibus hic viceversa
Procubuit terra — — —
—*Opus Metricum*, p. 629.

[2] Petrarch recounts his attempt at flight (*Vita Solitaria*, ii. c. 18): Jacopo Stefaneschi, however, says:—

Post morulam Senior: Missis sermonibus, inquit — — —
Papatus accepto gradum.

The envoys kissed his sandals, *chiffonibus oscula figunt—villosis;*

of a hermit, who had spent his life in the solitude of the mountain, to accept with the papal crown the burthen of the world, a burthen almost beyond the strength of a great and practical genius, is truly astounding. Even though vanity may have found its way through the armour of a penitent and the rough tunic of a saint, it is probable that a sense of duty, the necessity of submission to the imagined will of heaven, may have influenced the anchorite in his childish simplicity to yield his fatal consent. Pressure was, moreover, brought to bear by the companions of his order; for these disciples of the Holy Ghost indulged in rapturous expectation that, with the election of their supreme head, the prophetic kingdom announced by the Abbot Joachim de Flore would be actually realised.

An innumerable crowd, clergy, barons, King Charles and his son, hastened to do honour to the Pope-elect, and the wild mountain of Murrone beheld one of the most curious scenes that history has ever witnessed. The procession advanced to the town of Aquila, the Pope-hermit, clad in his miserable habit, riding on an ass, which two kings, however, led with reverent solicitude by the bridle. Troops of glittering knights, choirs of clergy singing hymns, and crowds of diverse aspect either followed or devoutly knelt along the way.[1] At the sight of the ostentatious humility of a pope seated

Procession of the hermit to Aquila.

apparently the foot-covering worn by the Ciocciari of the present time, sandals of asses skin.

[1] *Intumidus vilem Murro conscendit asellum,*
Regum frœna manu dextra lævaque regente—
—Opus Metricum.

on an ass, but between two attendant kings, many were of opinion that this imitation of Christ's entry into Jerusalem was either vain, or no longer accorded with the practical greatness of the Papacy. King Charles immediately took possession of the newly elected Pope; and never allowed his tool, a Pope of his own kingdom, to escape from his hands.[1] The cardinals had invited Peter to Perugia; he summoned them to Aquila, since Charles so willed it. They came against their inclination; Benedict Gætani was the last, and, offended by what he saw, he strove to obtain supreme influence over the Curia. It was well for Cardinal Latinus that he died at this juncture at Perugia, without beholding the creature of his election. His death, however, was a misfortune for Peter himself.[2] The cardinals, men of the world, learned and polished gentlemen, surveyed with astonishment the new Pope, who came to meet them with the air of a timid hermit who had lived among the woods, frail endowed with no gift of eloquence, and devoid of presence and dignity. Was it possible that this simple anchorite could be the successor of popes who had known how to rule princes and nations with majesty?

[1] Charles left Perugia at the end of March, and went by Aquila to Naples; on July 22 he was at Sulmo, from the 28th to the 6th October at Aquila. *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, B. n. 65.

[2] The celebrated cardinal died on August 10, 1294. The date is given in a MS. Dominican Chronicle in the *Bibl. Podiana* at Perugia. He had built himself a beautiful palace near S. Michele (*Frisonum*) immediately adjoining the Palatiolus and an ancient wall *qui fuisse dicitur de Palatio Neroniano.* Bull of Honorius IV., A. 1287, *Bullar. Vatican.*, i. 209, and the fragment of the cardinal's will, p. 223.

Peter was consecrated as Celestine V. in a church outside the walls of Aquila on August 24, 1294, amid a concourse, as an eye-witness relates, of two hundred thousand spectators. He forthwith made his entry into the town no longer on an ass, but on a white mule richly caparisoned, wearing his crown and surrounded with every magnificence.[1] A tool in the hands of Charles, he immediately created new cardinals, candidates recommended by the King; he also revived Gregory X.'s Constitutions with regard to the conclave. Wily courtiers obtained his signature and seal for all that they desired. The saint could not refuse the request of any: he gave, and with liberal hands. His actions, which were those of a child of nature, appear foolish and blameworthy.[2] Charles apparently hoped to obtain the senatorial dignity from the Pope, but in this he was disappointed. A Neapolitan noble, Thomas of S. Severino, Count of Marsica, was sent as Senator to Rome.[3] Instead of going thither himself, as the cardinals requested, Celestine obeyed the King and went to Naples.[4] The Curia followed grumbling.

Celestine V., Pope, 1294.

He goes to Naples.

[1] *Fueruntque in sua coronatione plusquam CC millia hominum et ego interfui.* Ptol. Lucens., *Hist. Eccl.*, xxiv. c. 29. Cirillo, *Annali della città dell' Aquila*, Rome, 1570, p. 14.

[2] *Multa* (*fecit*) *ne dixerim inepta.* . . . Jacopo Stefaneschi, p. 616, and also the opinion which he gives in the *Op. Metricum*, and that of Ptolemy Luc. (c. 33), who was an eye-witness: *Cardinales mordaciter infestant, quod in periculum animæ suæ Papatum detinebat propter inconvenientiam et mala, quæ sequebantur ex suo regimine.*

[3] *Thomas de S. Severino comes Marsici* appears as Senator in a deed of reaffidation of Corneto of December 11, 1294. According to the *Margarita Cornetana*, Papencordt, p. 327; Wüstenfeld, n. 37.

[4] On September 3 Charles announces to the Neapolitans from

He was himself miserably unhappy and in indescribable perplexity. After having entrusted the charge of affairs to three cardinals, he hid himself for the Advent season in the new castle of the King of Naples, where a cell had been constructed for him. Here he retired in remembrance of his grotto, to dream of the solitude of Mount Murrone. The unfortunate man resembled, as his biographer says, the wild pheasant, which, hiding its head, thinks itself invisible, while it allows itself to be caught by the hand of the hunters in pursuit.

There is nothing more intolerable for men of any kind than the acceptance of a position uncongenial to their character, against which nature rebels, and to which their strength is unequal. Of this Celestine V. is the most striking example. Hunger, thirst, and every kind of privation were only the daily and welcome experiences of a saint who had accustomed himself to hold communion with the shining stars, with the whispering trees, with storms, with the spirits of night or his own imagination. He now suddenly found himself on the highest throne on earth, surrounded by princes and nobles, harassed by a hundred cunning men, summoned to rule the world, to live in a labyrinth of intrigues, and not qualified to attend to even the petty business of a

Aquila that the Pope will arrive in Naples the following month, and sends Rostayn Cantelmi and Guido de Alamania to the city. *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, B. n. 65, fol. 9. According to the same *Regesta*, Charles left Aquila (with the Pope) for Sulmo on October 6; remained in Sulmo until October 12. On the 14th he was at Isernia, on the 18th in S. Germano; October 27 in Capua; November 8 in Naples.

notary. The part played by Celestine V. is deserving of compassion, but the mistake made by his electors, the tempters of a saint, is more than culpable. In times when a straightforward monk might have filled the office of high priest, Celestine V. would have proved a good shepherd of souls; seated on the throne of Innocent III. he appears an intolerable deformity. His wish to retire became in Naples a resolve. It is said that in the silence of the night Cardinal Gætani, by means of a speaking tube, summoned him as by a voice from heaven to renounce the Papacy, and that this stratagem moved the tortured man to a step hitherto unknown in the annals of the Church. It is possible that this account (which was widespread even at the time) may be unfounded; contemporaries, nevertheless, were aware that several cardinals demanded his abdication. King Charles must undoubtedly have given his consent and agreed to the elevation of Cardinal Gætani; for even on the journey from Aquila to Rome he seems to have made approaches to this haughty prelate.[1]

On the resolution of the Pope becoming known, a monster procession was formed in Naples. The people, roused to fanaticism by the brethren of his order, assailed the palace with shouts and called on Celestine to remain Pope. He gave an evasive

[1] Letter from Capua of November 11, 1294, in which he commands Jacopo de Avellino to give ear to a complaint of the vicar of this cardinal, on account of infringement of rights on a wood that belonged to him: *venerab. patris D. Benedicti dei gr. tituli S. Martini in montib. Pbri. Cardinalis amici nostri carissimi: Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, B. n. 65.

Abdication of Celestine V., Dec. 13, 1294.

answer. On December 13, 1294, after the reading of a bull which pronounced valid the abdication of a pope on important grounds, he explained in public consistory that he resigned his office. The document had been dictated to him. The confession of his incapacity was honourable, and reflects not upon himself, but upon the judgment of his electors. After having joyfully resigned the purple, Celestine reappeared before the dismayed assembly clad in his rustic gown, a natural man, a penitent and a reverend saint.[1] A singular fate had removed Peter of Murrone from his solitude, had seated him for a moment on the pinnacle of the world, and had displaced him. The five months' dream of splendour and torture may have appeared in his eyes as the most terrible of those visions of temptation at the hands of the devil which are wont to assail saints, and his abdication as the crown of all the renunciations which the penitent could impose upon himself. The history of monarchs shows a few great rulers who, weary of life, laid aside the crown, such as Diocletian and Charles V. The self-denial of these men has in each case been repaid with admiration; the history of the popes is acquainted with but one voluntary abdication, that of Celestine V., and even at the time the step gave rise to the question whether a pope could abdicate or not. The severe sentence of Dante censured Celes-

[1] *Defectus, senium, mores, inculta loquela,*
Non prudens animus, non mens experta, nec altum
Ingenium, trepidare monent in sede periclum.

Opus Metr., c. xv. Celestine himself gives similar grounds in the formula of abdication (Raynald, n. xx.).

tine's conduct in world-renowned verses as cowardly treachery to the Church. Petrarch, who wrote a book in praise of solitude, rewarded him with eulogy for having performed an act of inimitable humility. We do not esteem it an heroic action to renounce a dignity which, splendid though it was, was an intolerable burthen.[1]

3. Benedict Gætani, Pope—He goes to Rome—Flight of the Ex-Pope—Splendid Coronation of Boniface VIII.—End of Celestine V.—Sicily—James of Aragon makes Submission to the Church—Constance in Rome—Marriage Festival—The Sicilians under King Frederick continue the War—Boniface VIII. gives Sardinia and Corsica to James—Hugolinus de Rubeis, Senator—Pandulf Savelli, Senator, 1297—The House of Gætani—Loffred, Count of Caserta—Cardinal Francesco—Peter Gætani, Lateran Count-Palatine.

The ambitious Gætani had zealously furthered Celestine's abdication, since the continuance of such a pontificate was unendurable to a man of his stamp. Had the means employed been lawful, then would Benedict only have deserved praise for having

[1] *Chi fece di viltade il gran rifiuto ;* the opinion, that Dante here spoke of Esau, is untenable. *Quod factum solitarii sanctique patris vilitati animi quisquis volet attribuat*, thus says Petrarch, probably alluding to Dante ;—*ego in primis et sibi utile arbitror et mundo—Papatum vero, quo nihil est altius—quis ulla ætate—tam mirabili et excelso animo contempsit, quam Cœlestinus iste?* (*De vita solitaria*, ii. sec. iii. c. 18).

removed an incapable pope, in order to rescue the Papacy from incalculable confusion. With Charles's sanction he himself attained the tiara by a majority of votes on December 24, 1294. No contrast could have been greater than the contrast between him and his predecessor. The brethren of the Holy Ghost had made the attempt to uphold an apostle of poverty, a man of the type of S. Francis, on the papal throne, and with him had hoped to inaugurate a new era of the Kingdom of God upon earth. But in the midst of the practical world the idea had proved sheer folly. After the romantic episode, or rather the impotence, to which a miracle-worker had reduced the Church, a cardinal versed in secular affairs, a learned jurist, a monarchical spirit ascended the papal throne in the person of Boniface VIII. He was to prove on his side that it was no less dangerous for the circumstances of the Church to have as pope a man of political genius, but devoid of every qualification as a saint, than a saint devoid of the talents of a ruler.

Boniface VIII., Pope, 1294–1303.

Benedict, son of Loffred, on his mother's side nephew of Alexander IV., was descended from an ancient house of the Campagna—the Gætani, knights settled in Anagni. Before his time his family is not mentioned in the history of Rome, unless Gelasius II. be reckoned a member. The name of Gætani, however, had long been known, and had been borne by some cardinals and even by members of the house of Orsini. The descent of the Gætani from the ancient dukes of Gæta cannot be proved. Nevertheless it is possible that the house was of Lombard

The Gætani family.

origin, as the names Luitfried, Loffred or Roffred, which frequently occur, would seem to show.[1] It was respectable even before the elevation of Boniface VIII., and some of his family had distinguished themselves in arms as knights, or in the government of cities as podestàs.[2] Benedict began his career as apostolic notary under Nicholas III., obtained the cardinal's hat under Martin IV., and had frequently distinguished himself as legate. He was conspicuous by eloquence, profound knowledge of both civil and canon law, by diplomatic talent, a dignified demeanour united to an exterior handsome in the extreme; but the superiority of his mental

[1] A parchment in M. Casino of August 4, 1012, mentions *Roffredo Consul et Dux Campanie—habitator de civitate Berulana* (Veroli). It is possible that he was an ancestor of the house. I have to thank Duke Don Michele Gætani in Rome for the use of the archives of his family, from which it is evident that Boniface VIII. was the true founder of the Gætani power. Signor Carinci has excellently arranged these archives; they and other private archives in Rome supply the authorities for the history which is lacking of Latium in the Middle Ages.

[2] The Statutes of Benevento of 1230 are signed by the papal rector *Roffridus Uberti Anagninus*, father perhaps of Boniface VIII. (Borgia, *Stor. di Benev.*, ii. 409). In 1255 a privilegium given by *Johes Compater Ducatus Spoletani rector* to Gubbio is signed by *D. Jacobo Gaitani mil de anania*, as witness. Archives of Gubbio, *Lib. Privil.*, fol. 7. According to Acts in the Archives of Todi, *nobil. et pot. miles Loffredus Gayetanus* (brother of the Pope) was podestà there in 1283. Boniface had been educated in Todi and was canon there, while his uncle Peter, son of Mathias Gætanus, had been bishop of the diocese since 1252. *Annals of Todi*, vol. v., Mscr. of Lucalberto Petti, archivist of his city in the beginning of *sæc.* xvii. in the Archives of S. Fortunatus. The same archives register a Mathias Gætani of Anagni as Manfred's captain. The archives contain several briefs and bulls of the grateful Boniface VIII.

gifts inspired him with arrogance rather than humility, and, instead of tolerance, with contempt for mankind.[1]

On becoming Pope he resolved to remove the sacred chair from every influence that had hitherto restricted its liberty. Charles's hope of detaining the Papacy in Naples was shattered. He was not on friendly terms with Boniface VIII., but each had need of the other; the King of the Pope on account of Sicily, the Pope of the King to defend himself from those who grudged him the tiara. The weak Celestine had not brought to a close the negotiations (previously begun) for the renunciation of Sicily by James of Aragon. Boniface promised Charles to recover Sicily for the house of Anjou. The two men arrived at an understanding, and the events which followed show that the mutual promises were faithfully fulfilled. Charles first sacrificed Celestine to the tranquillity of the new Pope, consenting to have him placed under custody. For Boniface was afraid of allowing a holy man, who had been pope, whose abdication was a source of perplexity to the minds of men, and who in the hands of enemies might easily become a dangerous instrument, to go free. With the King's approval he therefore sent the ex-pope to Rome under an escort. The saint escaped;

[1] *Propter hanc causam factus est fastuosus et arrogans, ac omnium contemtivus;* thus the contemporary Ptol. Lucensis, xxiv. c. 36. Jacopo Stefaneschi calls him *Pastor conscius ævi*, and

qui sæcula, mores
Pontifices, clerum, reges, proceresque, ducesque
Et gallos, Anglosque procul, fraudesque, minasque,
Terrarumque plagas orbemque reviderat omnem.

Charles sent messengers to arrest him, and Boniface set forth on his journey to Rome.

Boniface VIII. goes to Rome, Jan. 1295.

The new Pope left Naples in the beginning of January 1295, accompanied by Charles.[1] Scarcely had they arrived at Capua when the report became current in Naples that Boniface VIII. had suddenly died. The news excited unbounded joy, the Neapolitans held festivals of rejoicing in their city, and such was the omen under which Celestine's successor continued his journey to Rome.[2] He went first to Anagni, his ancestral town, which received him with pride; it had already reckoned three celebrated popes among its citizens in one and the same century. Roman envoys there greeted Boniface and invested him with the senatorial authority, and immediately on his arrival in Rome he appointed Hugolinus de Rubeis of Parma as Senator.[3]

Boniface VIII. crowned in Rome, Jan. 23, 1295.

His entrance and the coronation festival in S. Peter's were celebrated with unexampled pomp on

[1] From the *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, c. 65, it appears that the King left Naples on January 4; he was at S. Germano on the 16th, and from January 22 until May 24 he dates from Rome.

[2] Charles's letter to Rostayn Cantelmi, captain of Naples, January 7, 1295, *apud Turrim S. Herasmi prope Capuam. . . . Nostre nuper auditui majestatis innotuit, quod pridie in civ. nra Neapolis — stultiloquium insurrexit, quod—D. Bonifacius div. prov. S. Pont. diem repente finiverat fatalitatis extremum, et quod ex hoc generalis in populo letitia creverat. . . .* He orders the guilty to be punished. *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, c. 65, fol. 159.

[3] Jacopo Stefaneschi, p. 644. The *Chronicle of Parma* (ed. Barbieri, Parma, 1858), p. 93, registers H. Rubeus as Senator *ad A.* 1295. *Populus—dispositionem regiminis—Urbis ad vitam nostram nobis hactenus unanimi voluntate commisit*, says Boniface himself in a brief of 1297 (Theiner, i. n. 516).

January 23, 1295. The Papacy, which had recently donned the garb of apostolic poverty, almost resembling in aspect that of the Waldensian heresy, now purposely assumed the majesty of secular and triumphant splendour. The Roman nobles, Orsini, Colonna, Savelli, Conti and Anibaldi appeared in knightly pomp; the barons and podestàs of the State of the Church, and the retinue of the King of Naples, added to the splendour. In the great festal procession, which wound its way through the decorated streets as the Pope went to take possession of the Lateran, the magistrate and the city prefect, now no more than a powerless shadow, took part.[1] Boniface rode a snow white palfrey covered with a hanging made of Cyprus plumes, the crown of Sylvester on his head, and wearing the most solemn pontificals; beside him, clad in scarlet, walked two vassal kings, Charles and Charles Martel holding the bridle of his horse. Only half a year before the same kings had walked beside a pope who wore a hermit's tunic and rode upon an ass. They might now remind themselves how little they had been humbled by the service they had then rendered. The shade of the poor spiritualist assuredly stood in warning before Boniface VIII. and the two kings, when, at the Lateran banquet, they had the honour of carrying the first dishes to the Pope and then took their humble place among the cardinals at table, where

[1] *Præfectusque urbis, magnum sine viribus nomen*, exclaims Jacopo Stefaneschi, who has described the coronation of Boniface VIII. in a poem. Peter of Vico was Prefect at the time; there is no mention of the Senator, the office being then vacant.

the "goblets of Bacchus" sparkled amid costly viands.[1]

Celestine meanwhile was roaming among the woods of Apulia, seeking to escape his persecutors. After his flight he returned to the hermitage near Sulmona, where he hoped to resume his former life. But a pope who had abdicated had no longer any right to freedom. With his act of renunciation Celestine V. had also signed his death-warrant. On the arrival of his pursuers at Murrone, the ex-pope fled and wandered forth with one companion, until after weary weeks he reached the sea. He embarked on board a vessel, with the intention of crossing to Dalmatia, where he hoped to hide himself. But the sea cast the saint ashore; the citizens of Vieste recognised and respectfully greeted him as a worker of miracles. Adherents demanded that he should again declare himself pope. Nevertheless, he unresistingly surrendered to the podestà of the place who required him. William l'Estendard, constable of the King, brought him to the frontier of the State of the Church in May.[2] Happy to have his danger-

Flight and capture of Celestine V.

[1] *Tunc lora tenebant—*
Rex siculus, Carolusque puer — — —
Jure tamen: nam sceptra tenet vasallus ab ipso—
Reticere juvat velamina muri
Et vestes, mensæque situs, fulgentia Bacchi
Pocula, gemmatos calices, et fercula; quonam
Ordine servitum est; quemnam diademata Reges
Cum ferrent gessere modum—
—Opus Metricum.

Had S. Bernard or S. Francis beheld this pomp, he would have exclaimed: *in his successisti non S. Petro, sed Constantino!*

[2] On May 16, 1295, Charles II. wrote from Rome to L'Estendard,

ous predecessor in his power, Boniface at first caused him to be detained in custody in his palace at Anagni. It was represented to the good-natured hermit that pious duty required him to renounce freedom as he had renounced the tiara. He was loaded with demonstrations of affection and was finally brought in safety to the fortress of Fumone. This gloomy stronghold, which stands on the summit of a steep hill near Alatri, had from ancient times served as a state prison, within whose towers many rebels and even a pope had ended life. It was said that Celestine V. was kept here in custody suitable to his dignity ; other reports, however, assert that his prison was narrower than the narrowest cell on Mount Murrone. He died in a short time.[1] His fate gives him the appearance of a martyr, Boniface that of a murderer. The Celestines spread the most sinister rumours. They even exhibited as a relic a nail which, it was asserted, had been driven by command of the Pope into the innocent head of his prisoner.

Death of Celestine V. in the tower of Fumone, May 19, 1296.

The death of Celestine rendered Boniface secure upon his throne. If unable to silence the voices

that he had sent Radulf, Patriarch of Jerusalem, Brother William of Villaret, and the Knight Lewis of Roheriis *pro conducendo fratre Petro de Murrono a Vestis usque Capuam*, and orders him to repair thither, in order to conduct the fugitive to Capua. *Reg. Caroli II.*, 1294, c. 65, fol. 264. Jacopo Stefaneschi speaks of a *Regis sonorum edictum*, which appears to have resembled a letter of arrest.

[1] According to Peter of Aliaco (in Raynald, *ad A.* 1295, n. xi., &c.) he was confined in the narrowest prison, *ut vir sanctus ubi habebat pedes, dum missam celebravit, ibi caput reclinaret dum dormiendo quiesceret.* Celestine V. died on May 19, 1296, and was canonised in 1313 (di Pietro, *Memorie di Sulmona*, p. 198)

which accused him of having ascended it unlawfully, he at any rate robbed his opponents of the living representative of their views. His next occupation was the recovery of Sicily for the house of Anjou and consequently for the Church. It was necessary for the honour of the Holy See that the insupportable disgrace should be wiped out. His predecessors had already striven for this end. When, after the death of the young Alfonso (on June 18, 1291), his second brother James ascended the throne of Aragon, Nicholas IV. had tried to effect a peace between this prince and Charles II. James, harassed by France, because Martin IV. had ventured to bestow Aragon as a papal fief on Charles of Valois, agreed to surrender Sicily. But the Sicilians would no longer consent to be an object of traffic between popes and kings; they interposed their veto, and in Frederick, brother of James and grandson of Manfred, found their national head. James, from political motives, was false to his own honourable past, since he made peace with the Church and Charles, and renounced his rule over the island in June 1295. In an interview with Frederick at Velletri, Boniface had sought to obtain his consent. The young prince, flattered in the beginning with the prospect of becoming Senator of Rome, and then with the hope of obtaining the hand of the Princess Catherine of Courtenay, wavered at first, and not until his return home did he retract his worthless promises. On March 25, 1296, he took the crown of the island at Palermo by the will of the people. The hopes of the Pope were thus defeated. Sicily preserved its independence

Frederick, King of Sicily, 1296.

even after the desertion of John of Procida and the celebrated admiral Roger de Loria; even against James, who was forced by the treaties to turn his arms against his brother.

James came to Rome at the end of March 1297. Constance, his pious mother, who ardently desired peace with the Church, left her other son and followed him thither from Sicily. Singular circumstances forced Manfred's daughter to come to Rome, where she was received with joy and released from the ban which lay upon her house. With her was her daughter Violanta, whom, in conformity with the treaty, she brought to be married to Robert of Calabria, son of Charles II. The heirs of the hatred of the houses of Hohenstaufen and Anjou, of Guelfs and Ghibellines, of Manfred and Charles I., the men of the Sicilian Vespers, found themselves together in Rome to celebrate a temporary peace. As Boniface (this was his supreme moment) placed the hand of Violanta in that of Robert, the thoughts of all must have turned in surprise to the terrible days of Benevento and Tagliacozzo, the angry shades of which seemed now reconciled in a young and prosperous pair, the granddaughter of Manfred, the grandson of Charles of Anjou.[1] Don Federigo alone took no part in the reconciliation.

Marriage of Violanta to Robert of Calabria, 1297.

[1] Loria and John of Procida, who had accompanied Constance to Rome, were present. John disappeared in Rome. I note in passing his genealogical tree, taken from a document of June 23, 1314, from Salerno, concerning an exchange of property between S. Maria in Ilice and Thomas of Procida, in which mention is made of his Lombard ancestors. It says: *nob. vir. D. Thomas. de procida miles dom. Insule Procide, fil. qd. D. Johis. militis qui similiter de Procida*

Constance remained some time longer with John of Procida in Rome, where she watched with grief the war between her sons, which the Pope promoted and zealously urged in defiance of the Christian religion. Her heart was, moreover, tortured by the thought of Manfred's sons, her own brothers. Banished from human society, these unfortunate princes still languished in the prison of Castel del Monte near Andria. If Constance ever sued for their release, she obtained no hearing. Manfred's lawful heirs, the legitimate rulers of Sicily, remained for political reasons sacrificed not only to the house of Anjou but to that of Aragon.[1] For the rest, however, Fortune repaid Constance the debt it owed her father. She had been the wife of a great king, the deliverer of Sicily; she had seen her three sons crowned as kings, she lived to see peace between James and Frederick; and reconciled to the Church and occupied in religious exercises, like Agnes, mother of Henry IV., in former days, the noble daughter of Manfred finally died at Barcelona in 1302.[2]

Death of Constance, the daughter of Manfred, 1302.

dictus est, qui fuit filius Petri, filii Johis, filii Adenulfi, filii Petri, filii Acronis Comitis (Ludovisi Buoncompagni Archives in Rome, parchment from *S. Maria in Elce*).

[1] Not until 1298 did Charles II. remember that it was disgraceful to let the sons of Manfred starve (*si ob alimentor. defectum—fame peribunt;* del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl.*, i. 127). He then gave orders in 1299 that their chains should be removed, that they should be clothed and brought to Naples. They were, however, destined to be imprisoned in *Castel dell' novo;* Frederick and Enzius first died; Henry followed, forty-seven years old, in 1309. On the other hand, after his naval victory at Naples, Loria had released Manfred's daughter Beatrix, who married Manfred, Marquis of Saluzzo.

[2] Surita shows that the belief that her death took place in Rome is mistaken. *Annales de Aragon*, v. c. 28. We may remember the

The festivals in Rome ended, the kings departed to prepare for war against Frederick, for which Boniface gave the tithes of the Church. The Sicilians, however, were indifferent to his excommunications. These spiritual weapons, formerly more destructive than gunpowder, were now blunted by too frequent use. In the thirteenth century there was scarcely a man of importance, scarcely a city or nation, on which a shower of excommunications had not fallen for political reasons, and these anathemas were as lightly uttered as they were recalled whenever advantage commanded. Boniface VIII. already realised that these means were no longer effective. The recognition of a new kingdom, vassal to the Church, scarcely consoled him for his defeat in Sicily. He had appointed James of Aragon as Captain-General of the Church and had armed him for war against his brother. He now gave him, as a
Ap. 4, 1297. reward in advance, Sardinia and Corsica, islands on which the Pope did not own a handful of earth.[1] Pisa, the former ruler of these islands, had been weakened since the disaster of Meloria and was beginning to decay. The formerly powerful republic, the celebrated friend of the emperors, even elected Boniface VIII. as its rector, in order to profit by his aid.

Boniface knew how to turn to successful account

beautiful passage in Dante, where Manfred's shade says to him : *vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice dell' onor di Cicilia, e Aragona.* . . .

[1] Raynald, *ad A.* 1297, n. 2. James himself assumed the title *S. R. E. Vexillarius, Amiratus et Capitan. Generalis :* Privilegium for Corneto, of July 24, 1298, *Dat. in Portu Corneti ;* Archives of Corneto, Casset, A. n. 5, copy in the library of Count Falzacappa of Corneto.

the policy of the popes, which we have already noticed—that of causing themselves to be invested with the magisterial authority in cities. Gradually one commune after another appointed him its podestà. Pressing circumstances obliged them to place themselves under the protection of the Church, while they made over the government to the Pope in person. True, they preserved their statutes, to which the Pope's representative was forced to swear before he even descended from his horse. Nevertheless, the authority even temporarily ceded to the Pope diminished their republican independence.[1] Rome itself quietly received the Senators appointed by Boniface, and thus in March 1297 he made the celebrated Pandulf Savelli once more Senator for a year.[2] His own family he raised to the chief posts

Pandulf Savelli, Senator, 1297.

[1] Terracina appointed Boniface podestà for his lifetime, on January 22, 1295 (Contatore). Orvieto (October 7, 1297) for six months (Theiner, i. n. 509); Tuscania (July 6, 1297) for life (n. 517); Todi (January 31, 1297) for six months (Petti, *Annals*, v. 110); Velletri (October 3, 1299) for six months (n. 535); Corneto (February 27, 1302) for life (n. 544). A popular government appears in Corneto, consisting of the *Rector Societatis Laboratorum*, the Consul *mercatorum*, the Rector *societ. Calzorarorum* . . . in general *Rectores artium et societatum*.

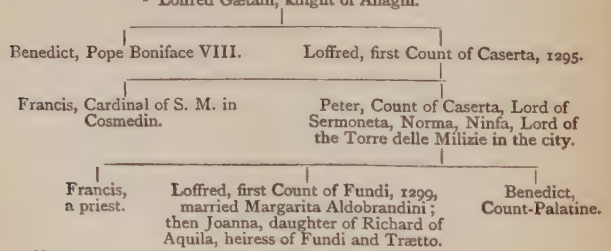
[2] His installation, Rome, March 13, 1297. Theiner, i. n. 516. He confirmed the Statutes of the Merchants on June 12, 1297. This was his last term of office. He died in 1306 and lies buried in Aracœli. Prior to him Petro de Stefano and Andrea Romani from Trastevere appear, from an inscription in the Capitol, given by Vitale, p. 204, and Forcella, i. 25, to have been Senators in 1296. The inscription gives September 1296 and Ind. XIII. instead of Ind. X. Since both these Senators appear in an act of reaffidation of Corneto on August 1, 1299, Wüstenfeld, n. 41, has rightly placed them in the year 1299. According to him, Mateo Orsini and Nicol. de Comite were Senators in 1296.

in Church and State. Soon after his coronation his brother Loffred was made Count of Caserta by King Charles.[1] Of Loffred's sons the Pope made Francesco Cardinal of S. Maria in Cosmedin, Peter Lateran Count-Palatine and Rector of the Patrimony in Tuscany. This fortunate nephew became his father's heir, Count of Caserta, founder of princely dominions on both sides of the Volscian Mountains, and ancestor of the two main branches of the family. For his sons—Benedict as first Count-Palatine in Tuscany and Loffred as first Count of Fundi and Trætto—continued the race.[2] A new dynasty arose on the Campagna under the protection of the Church,

Count Loffred, founder of the house of Gætani.

[1] Parchment, Colonna Archives (*Privil.*, vi. A. n. 7). *Act. Rome pres. viris nob. Petro Ruffo de Calabria Catanzarii, Ermingario de Sabrano Ariani, et Riccardo Fundor. Comitib., Guillielm. Estandardo Regni Sic. marescalco. . . . A.D.* 1295, *die XX. m. Febr. Ind. VIII. R. n. a. XI. Considerantes grandia servitia, quæ sciss. in Xpo pater et clem. Dom. nr. D. Bonifacius . . . dum in min. statu consisteret clare mem. Do. patri nostro et nob. . . . exhibuit, ac paterna beneficia, que post apicem apostolatus assumptum—exhibet. . . . Roffridum Gætanum militem frat. ipsius in honorificentiam decoremque perpet. domus et generis dom. nostri pref. dignitate Comitatus Caserte . . . providemus illustrandum.* The house of Richard of Caserta and of his son Conrad having fallen with the Hohenstaufens, the county was confiscated. Minieri Riccio, *Brevi notizie intorno all' archivio Angioino di Napoli* (1862), p. 105.

[2] Loffred Gætani, knight of Anagni.


Benedict, Pope Boniface VIII.
Loffred, first Count of Caserta, 1295.
Francis, Cardinal of S. M. in Cosmedin.
Peter, Count of Caserta, Lord of Sermoneta, Norma, Ninfa, Lord of the Torre delle Milizie in the city.
Francis, a priest.
Loffred, first Count of Fundi, 1299, married Margarita Aldobrandini; then Joanna, daughter of Richard of Aquila, heiress of Fundi and Trætto.
Benedict, Count-Palatine.

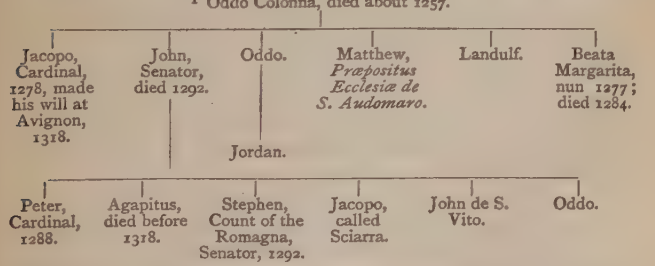
(According to the family archives of the Gætani.)

as the Conti had arisen under Innocent III., and the Roman nobility was increased by an ambitious and wealthy family, which threatened to cast the older aristocratic houses into the shade. Among these noble houses none was older or more powerful than the Colonna. A quarrel soon broke out between them and Boniface, which deeply influenced the Pope's life, and which, associated with more important circumstances, contributed to work his downfall.

4. FAMILY DIVISIONS AMONG THE COLONNA — THE CARDINALS JACOPO AND PETER QUARREL WITH BONIFACE VIII.—OPPOSITION TO THE POPE—BOTH CARDINALS DEPOSED—FRA JACOPONE OF TODI—MANIFESTO AGAINST THE POPE — THE COLONNA EXCOMMUNICATED — PANDULF SAVELLI TRIES TO MAKE PEACE—CRUSADE AGAINST THE COLONNA—SIEGE OF PALESTRINA—THE COLONNA MAKE SUBMISSION IN RIETI — THE POPE DESTROYS PALESTRINA—FLIGHT AND OUTLAWRY OF THE COLONNAS —SCIARRA AND STEPHEN IN EXILE.

Family quarrels divided the numerous house of Colonna.[1] Oddo's sons had by contract (on April

[1] Oddo Colonna, died about 1257.



The father of Cardinal Jacopo is expressly called Oddo in the bull of

28, 1292) conferred the administration of the family property—the centre of which was Palestrina—on their eldest brother Cardinal Jacopo. The younger line of Genazzano, the children of the Senator John, brother of Jacopo, among whom were Cardinal Peter and Count Stephen, owned a share in these possessions. Oddo, Matthew and Landulf, brothers of Jacopo, reproached him with bestowing everything on his nephews. The Pope was drawn into the quarrel. He repeatedly admonished Jacopo to give the brothers their due, but the two cardinals, uncle and nephew, refused to obey him, and henceforward appeared no more at the Lateran.[1] They were the chief men in the Curia, Roman princes of the oldest nobility, proud and haughty. They regarded the Pope's overbearing demeanour with ill-will, and had frequent occasions for jealousy, more especially as Boniface seemed determined to break the arrogance of the Roman aristocracy. Ghibelline inclinations awoke in the Colonnas. In spite of their alliance with Charles II. of Naples, they received envoys of Frederick of Sicily, who strove to reawaken the Hohenstaufen faction in Rome.

Quarrel between the Pope and the Colonna.

The political party strengthened the ecclesiastical opposition; evidently the two cardinals were not in

May 10, 1297. This is singular, as he is called Jordan in the treaty of April 28, 1292 (Petrini, p. 418). I have seen the same treaty in the Colonna Archives (Scaf., xvii. n. 8), where the name of Jordan is likewise found. Nevertheless, I adhere to the authentic bull of the Pope.

[1] Tosti (*Storia di Bonif. VIII.*, i. 200) holds that Jacopo was wrong in this quarrel. It is impossible to decide on this question, since we are not acquainted with the acts of the trial.

accord with the policy which the Papacy had adopted towards the Church and the States, and which must sooner or later involve it in the most serious struggle with the monarchies. As early as the time of Gregory IX. a Cardinal Colonna had been the determined enemy of this policy. The death of Celestine V., moreover, had not quenched the belief that Boniface had become Pope by unlawful means; the most ardent representatives of this view were the brethren of Celestine's order, who could not forget the fall of their idol. They were all the more zealous because Boniface had annulled the acts which his predecessor had issued in their favour. To those Fraticelli or Spiritualists he appeared as a simonist and a usurper, as the incarnation of the worldly Church, which they condemned and which they wished to reform by their noble dreams of the kingdom of the Holy Ghost.

The opposition gathered round the Cardinals Colonna and their relatives Stephen and Sciarra. The latter in particular had irritated the Pope, for they had seized and robbed a consignment of gold and silver, which Peter, his avaricious nephew, was sending to Rome for the purpose of buying estates.[1] The alliance of the Colonna with Sicily was notorious; the example of the defection of Cardinal John and

[1] The Cardinals Colonna, in a protest against the sentence of the Pope, admit this themselves and, while proclaiming themselves innocent, speak of Stephen as the transgressor. What they say is significant: *auri et argenti quantitatem de pauperum lagrimis—quam Petrus Gaietanus nepos ejus pro quarundam terrarum et castrorum acquisitione vel emptione portari faciebat ad urbem.* Balan, *Il Processo di Bon. VIII.*, Rome, 1881, p. 44.

of his nephew Oddo, father of Cardinal Jacopo, in the time of Frederick II., warned Boniface. He ordered the Colonna to receive papal garrisons in Palestrina and in other of their fortresses, and the Colonna refused, for reasons easy to be understood. The reports concerning the illegality of his Papacy becoming current, and Peter Colonna being pointed out as their real originator, Boniface invited the cardinal (on May 4, 1297) to an explicit answer, as to whether he considered him Pope or not. Peter evaded the command, and retired with his uncle to Palestrina. Boniface, filled with fury, forthwith assembled the consistory in S. Peter's on May 10; without more ado he deprived both cardinals of their dignity. The grounds of this sentence were: the earlier rebellious alliance with James of Aragon, their present alliance with Frederick, their refusal to receive papal troops, their tyrannical injustice to Jacopo's brothers. The rash action of the Pope showed his strength of will, to which human fear was unknown, but it also showed the uncontrollable violence of his character. Were these crimes so terrible as to deserve so heavy a punishment? The deposition of cardinals, which had long been unknown, could not be justified in the eyes of the majority by grounds such as these, for these princes of the Church had been in no wise at open rebellion against their supreme head.[1]

Boniface VIII. deposes the Cardinals Peter and Jacopo Colonna, 1297.

[1] Bull in Raynald, n. 27 : *Præteritor. tempor. nefandis Columnensium actib. . . . Columnensium domus exasperans, amara domesticis, molesta vicinis, Romanor. reipubl. impugnatrix, S. R. E. rebellis, Urbis et patriæ perturbatrix.* The Pope is silent concerning

The Colonna accepted the challenge with the pride of aristocrats conscious of their power. On the same May 10 they held a family council at Longhezza, a fortress on the banks of the Anio belonging to the abbey of S. Paul's, where Collatia had formerly stood. With them were jurists, some French prelates and three Minorite monks, Fra Benedetto of Perugia, Fra Diodati of Prænestе, and Fra Jacopone of Todi, zealous adherents of Celestine V. With his sanction they had founded a congregation of Celestine hermits on the mountains above Palestrina, but Boniface had now withdrawn their privilegium. Fra Jacopone was a pensive mystic, a passionate apostle of the imitation of Christ, a poet who possessed sufficient talent to write scathing satires on the Pope in the *lingua volgare*, and in Latin the celebrated Easter hymn, the *Stabat Mater*.[1] In a manifesto compiled at Longhezza, the scholastic style of which seems to betray Fra Jacopone as the author, the two cardinals explained that they did not recognise Boniface VIII. as Pope, since Celestine V. could not abdicate, and his renunciation, moreover, had been the work of treacherous intrigues. They appealed to a Council. Such an appeal, first made by Frederick II., was

Fra Jacopone of Todi and the Celestines join the Colonnas.

Stephen's robbery of the papal treasure. Petrini (*Mem. Prenest.*) has compiled these stories from documents. No important document relating to this time is found in the Gætani and Colonna Archives. I can never be sufficiently grateful to the venerable Don Vincenzo Colonna, who for years has given me free access to the celebrated archives of his house, which had long been closed to the public.

[1] Tosti gives some of these satires. See also A. d'Ancona, *Jacopone da Todi, il giullare di Dio del sec. XIII.*, *Nuova Antologia*, 1880, p. 438 f.

The Cardinals Colonna appeal to a Council.

sufficiently dangerous, since it was now proposed by cardinals. The Colonna had the manifesto posted up in Rome and even laid upon the altar in S. Peter's.[1] They then fled to Palestrina, and thence the Pope sent them on May 15 a citation and the sentence which robbed them of their dignity as cardinals. They replied with a second manifesto.[2]

Boniface rightly foresaw the possibility of a schism, when he forced Celestine to end his days in prison. Had his predecessor still lived, he would have been a formidable weapon in the hands of the opposition. But Celestine was dead, and Boniface, without any trouble, could point to the weak spot which his enemies disclosed. These cardinals had elected him, had attended his coronation, and had solemnly recognised him as Pope at Zagarolo. How did it happen that they now for the first time advanced the view which placed them in contradiction with themselves? The anger of Boniface VIII. was aflame; on May 23 he issued a second bull to crush the now declared rebels.

Boniface excommunicates the Colonna, May 23, 1297.

He excommunicated as schismatics both cardinals, all the sons of the Senator John and their heirs; he proclaimed them disgraced, pronounced them to have forfeited their property, and threatened with

[1] *L'Histoire du Different d'entre le Pape Bonif. VIII. et Philippe le Bel, Preuves*, p. 34 *sq. Respondemus—quod vos non credimus legitimum Papam esse— — —quod in renuntiatione ipsius (Cœlestini) multæ fraudes et doli, conditiones et intendimenta et machinamenta intromisse multipliciter. . . . Propter quod petimus instanter et humiliter generale consilium congregari.* The cardinals also sent the clumsy manifesto to Paris, where Celestine's abdication had already been eagerly discussed.

[2] Balan, *l.c.*

the anathema all such places as received them.[1] His own position, nevertheless, was not without danger. The deposition of the cardinals aroused the indignation of the entire sacred college. Boniface hastened to pacify it by a constitution, in which he greatly increased the dignity of the cardinals, imposed severe penalties upon such as ill-treated them, and decreed that henceforward they were to wear the purple like kings.[2] He went to Orvieto while his enemies prepared their fortresses for defence. Resolved to crush the schism in the bud he collected troops under the Condottiere of the Florentines Inghiramo di Bisanzo, and under Landulf Colonna, Jacopo's brother, who, driven by a desire for revenge, fought against his own relations.[3]

The Senator Pandulf attempted to avert a civil war, striving to make peace in the name of the Roman commune. He sent envoys first to Palestrina, then to the Pope; the Colonna professed themselves ready to submit under conditions, which secured their honour and restored the power of their house; the Pope, on the other hand, required unconditional submission and the surrender of the fortresses.[4] When the negotiations produced no result and when envoys of Sicily were received in

[1] Bull *Lapis abscissus de monte sine manibus*. Raynald, n. 35.

[2] Bzovius, *ad A.* 1297, n. ix.; Tosti, i. 215. The Constitution *Felicis Recordationis* in the VI. Decretal., lib. v. tit. 9, c. 5. The red hat had been given to the cardinals by Innocent IV. at Lyons.

[3] Letter of the Pope to Landulf, Orvieto, September 4, 1297 (Petrini, p. 419).

[4] Letter of the Pope to Pandulf, Orvieto, September 20, 1297. *Ibid.*

He preaches the Crusade against the Colonna.

Palestrina, Boniface repeated the excommunication and (on December 14) even summoned "all Christendom" to take the Cross against his enemies, promising indulgences in return.[1] The power of the Pope does not indeed appear to have been very great, when he could descend to this parody of the Crusades, and when, to make war on Roman nobles, who owned a line of fortresses on the Campagna, he used means which had formerly only been employed against great emperors. His war against the cardinals, a civil war of the Church, showed the people the decay of the Papacy, announced worse times to come, and diminished the reverence due to the supreme head of religion. There is no banner round which men will not rally to raise it as the flag of their desires or opinions. Even this Crusade found crusaders, since it promised spoil and since it seemed directed against heretics, for such the Colonna were now pronounced to be.[2] Even cities of Tuscany and Umbria furnished combatants, and the holy war against the fortresses of the Colonna could be pursued with energy.

They were soon defeated because they stood alone. King Frederick sent no aid; the Ghibellines in the

[1] Bull of excommunication, Rome, November 18, 1297. Raynald, n. 41. Bull proclaiming the Crusade, Petrini, p. 421.

[2] The *Gætani Archives*, xxxvii. n. 31, contain an instrument in which the Minorite and judge of the heretics Alamannus de Balneoregio sentences Romans on September 8, 1297, as *fautores scysmaticor. et rebellium Columpnensium*. The houses of a proscribed man beside the *Torre delle Milizie* were sold by the Inquisitor Symon de Tarquinio to Peter Gætani for 1000 gold florins on April 13, 1301 (*ibid.*).

State of the Church did not rise, and in Latium the isolated movement of John of Ceccano, a member of the house of Anibaldi, was ineffectual.[1] The Romans, who had previously led the brother of Cardinal Jacopo on a triumphal car, remained neutral; the citizens rejoiced over the weakening of an aristocratic family, and both Savelli and Orsini utilised the opportunity to ruin their rivals, with whose estates they now allowed themselves to be enriched by the Pope. The crusading army besieged all the castles of the Colonna on both sides of the Tiber. Nepi was first surrounded in the summer of 1297.[2] This once free city belonged at the time to the Colonna. Civil war, pressure at the hands of barons, and poverty had reduced the inhabitants to the desperate resolution of selling themselves to a powerful protector; and the wealthy Cardinal Peter had bought the place on October 3, 1293.[3] Sciarra

The crusading army besiege the fortresses of the Colonna.

[1] The Anibaldi had come into possession of the ancient house of Ceccano. In the Colonna Archives I find John, son of Landulf, as the last of the ancient counts, on March 26, 1286. Then appears in 1291 Anibaldus de Ceccano (father of John and ancestor of the second house of counts of Ceccano), who was powerful also in Terracina and the Maritima.

[2] Among the condemned in the edict issued by the judge of heretics on September 8, 1297, is the *magister lignaminis* Marius, who had built three engines in the service of the Colonna at Nepi *ad exercitum Ecclesie per edificia impugnandum et ad machinas. . . .*

[3] *Gætani Archives* (xiii. n. 79): *Registr. Allibrati civ. Nepesine, A.* 1293 *temp. potestarie m. v. D. Pandulphi de Sabello Romanor. Procon.* The Parliament of Nepi resolved *q. Dominium dicte civ. alicui potenti vendatur—qui bona stabilia per eum empta singulis venditorib. in feudum concedat.* On October 3 Cardinal Peter Colonna bought Nepi for 25,000 florins. A Roman deed of August 6 contains an alliance between the Colonna, Peter and Manfred of

and John Colonna of S. Vito bravely defended themselves against the besiegers, but the help which, according to treaty, the lords of Vico and of Anguillara should have rendered was not forthcoming. Nepi was stormed and given by the Pope in fief to the Orsini.[1] The crusading army invaded the hereditary possessions of the Colonna in Latium; Zagarolo, Colonna, and other fortresses were burnt; the palaces belonging to the family in Rome were reduced to heaps of ashes.[2] Palestrina alone resisted. Agapitus and Sciarra, with the two cardinals, conducted a successful defence in this city, the ancestral home of the family. It is said that Boniface summoned from his cloister the celebrated Guido of Montefeltre, who weary of life had taken the Franciscan cowl two years before, in order by means of his genius to discover the way to this impregnable Cyclopean fortress, and that the old Ghibelline, seeing the strength of the place, advised the Pope to take it by wily promises.[3]

Vico and the Anguillara, with the support of Cardinal Benedict (Boniface VIII.); a third from the palace of Florentius Capocci in Rome, dated August 13, 1293, ordains that Cardinal Peter should sell half of Nepi to the brothers of the house of Vico. I note in Nepi a *consil. speciale et gen.*, and *Castaldiones* who summon the Parliament.

[1] Ptol. Lucens., *Hist. Eccl.*, p. 1219. According to a document, *Hist. du Differ.*, p. 278, Sciarra ceded Nepi to the city of Rome in 1296, and the city in consequence demanded it back from Ponzellus Orsini after the death of Benedict XI. in 1305.

[2] On February 9, 1298, the Pope demanded aid from Rieti *ad expugnat. Castri Columpne.* Brief in the *Gætani Archives*, xxvi. n. 56. *Opidum Columna diu obsessum—subversum :* Ricobald, p. 144.

[3] *Lunga promessa con l'attender corto*, the well-known words of Dante (*Inferno*, xxvii.), perhaps the chief source of this story. See

Palestrina was reduced to subjection by means of a treaty. Clad in mourning, a cord round their necks, the two cardinals, Agapitus and Sciarra appeared in Rieti (in September 1258) and threw themselves at the feet of the Pope. Boniface, surrounded by his Curia, sat crowned upon the throne, and majestically surveyed the humiliated men, who now acknowledged that he was Pope.[1] He pardoned them and fixed a date for the settlement of the entire dispute; meanwhile they were to remain under surveillance in Tivoli. Palestrina and all the fortresses of the Colonna were immediately surrendered. The Pope's hatred of the rebels, who had attacked his spiritual power, knew no bounds. He wished to render innocuous a family who strove to obtain the tyranny in Rome as the Visconti had obtained it in Milan. The punishment which he forthwith inflicted on Palestrina showed his intention. Over this celebrated city, dedicated to the Goddess Fortune, a singular destiny had in a long course of centuries twice emptied the vials of its wrath. Sulla, to whom Prænestе had surrendered, had levelled it with the ground; after 1400 years the same Prænestе surrendered to a pope, who, with a vindictiveness worthy of an ancient Roman, also razed it to

Palestrina surrenders, Sept. 1298.

also Fr. Pipin, *Chron.*, p. 741. Tosti denies Guido's appearance on the scene.

[1] The Gætani immediately made use of the circumstances in Rieti. According to a parchment in the Colonna Archives (Scaf., xviii. n. 12), Agapitus, son of John Colonna, ceded all his rights in Ninfa to Peter Gaytanus, Count of Caserta, on September 19, 1298: *Act. Reate præs. D. Rogerio Bussa, D. Johe de Sermineto, D. Giffredo Bussa* (who afterwards betrayed the Pope) *civib. Anagninis.*

Boniface VIII. causes Palestrina to be destroyed, 1298.

the soil. Boniface gave orders to his vicar in Rome to demolish Palestrina. If Barbarossa, who a hundred years earlier had destroyed the—to him—foreign city of Milan, or Attila, who in a remote age laid waste Aquileia, justly appear to us barbarians, what epithet shall we bestow upon a pope who, in the year 1298 in cold blood levelled to the ground a city that stood before the very gates of Rome, and was one of the seven ancient episcopal seats of the Roman Church?

Aspect of Palestrina at this time.

Palestrina stood then, as it stands to-day, half way up the slopes of a hill covered with olives and laurels. On its summit, surrounded with ancient Cyclopean walls, arose the towered Rocca S. Pietro, where Conradin, a short time before, had sat in chains. Palaces and several houses stood around. Below the fortress the strongly-walled city lay, as it were, in terraces, as it had arisen from the ruins of Sulla's temple to Fortune. It contained many ancient palaces. Many remains of the temple were still well preserved. The chief palace was in part ancient. It was ascribed to Julius Cæsar; the belief being derived from the form of a C, which the palace then possessed, and which the present building also retains. Adjoining it was the fairest ornament of the city, a circular temple dedicated to the Virgin, similar to the Pantheon in Rome, and resting on a marble staircase of a hundred steps, so broad and shallow that they might easily have been ascended on horseback.[1] Other ancient

[1] See the fragment of the complaint addressed to the Senate by the Colonna after the death of the Pope, Petrini, p. 429. *Palatium autem Cæsaris edificatum ad mod. unius C propter primam litteram nominis*

monuments, many columns, many bronzes dating from the inexhaustible wealth of Præneste's golden age, had been preserved under the protection of the art-loving Colonnas, in whose palace the luxury of the time, the treasures of antiquity, and the archives of their house were collected. All these treasures perished in the course of a few days. The cathedral of S. Agapitus alone was spared. The plough was driven and salt was strewn over the ruins, just (so the Pope said with a terrible calm) as it had been over the African Carthage of olden days.[1] Boniface VIII. seemed to take a pleasure in emulating the character of an ancient Roman, and at the same time the figure ascribed to the angry Jehovah of the Old Testament. His thunderbolt was not merely theatrical; he literally destroyed one of the oldest cities of Italy, which, like Tusculum, perished in its still ancient shape, although it was afterwards rebuilt on an insignificant scale.

As Sulla had planted a military colony in the plain of the destroyed city, so Boniface commanded the wretched inhabitants, whose entire private property he confiscated, to rebuild their dwellings at the side of the former town. They erected huts lower

sui, et Templum palacio inherens opere sumptuosissimo et nobiliss. edificatum ad mod. S. M. Rotunde de Urbe.—Muri antiquissimi opere Saracenico (ancient Cyclopean building in opposition to Roman brickwork). Concerning ancient Præneste and its ruins, see M. E. Fernique, *Étude sur Préneste*, 17 fasc. of the *Bibl. des écoles franç.*, 1880.

[1] *Ipsamque aratro subjici ad veteris instar Carthaginis Africanæ, ac salem in ea etiam fecimus—seminari, ut nec rem, nec nomen, aut titulum habeat civitatis:* Bull, Anagni, June 13, 1299; Raynald, n. vi.; Petrini, pp. 426, 428.

down, where the Madonna dell' Aquila now stands; the Pope gave the place the name of *Civitas Papalis*, and transferred to it the cardinal-bishopric of Palestrina. In June 1299 he appointed Theodoricus Raynerii of Orvieto, his vicar in Rome, as bishop of the new city, to whose inhabitants he restored their property as fiefs. Nevertheless, in the early part of the year 1300, like an angry tyrant, he overthrew the scarcely-built town, while the inhabitants in their misery wandered forth and dispersed.[1] In spite of this, however, Boniface VIII. was by no means an enemy of civic communes. Among his acts there were several which testify that he conscientiously respected the rights of cities, and that he generously protected several communes against the attacks of the provincial legates.[2]

The Colonna protest against the breach of faith,

The Colonna raised a cry of rage and despair at this barbarous destruction and at the loss of their property. They openly accused the Pope of perjury; they explained that they had been subjugated by means of a treaty concluded with the Romans

[1] Petrini. Cardinal Beaulieu had hitherto been Bishop of Palestrina. On the cardinal's death in 1297 Boniface did not appoint any successor; he had already resolved on his work of revenge.

[2] The podestàs of the communes in S. Peter's patrimony were guaranteed the *merum et mixtum imp.* and protection in various ways against the papal rectors: Bull, *Licet merum* of January 20, 1299, Archives of Corneto, Casset. A. n. 6. Statutes were issued on September 7, 1303, for the protection of the March of Ancona (Theiner, i. n. 571): one of the last acts of the Pope. Benedict XI. afterwards abrogated the edict on January 15, 1304 (n. 577). Boniface exempted the city of Todi from the tribunal of the rector of the patrimony. He only suppressed the confederations of cities, such as the ancient alliance between Perugia, Todi, Spoleto and Narni (Bull of December 13, 1300, Archives of S. Fortunatus at Todi).

and Cardinal Boccamazi, by which they were obliged to raise the papal standard in their fortresses, but were to retain possession of the fortresses themselves. The truth of this statement was contested at Avignon in 1311 by Cardinal Francesco Gætani, who maintained that their submission had not been in course of the capitulation, but was unconditional, and that it was made after the surrender of the fortresses. Opinions concerning the Pope's conduct were already divided. The voice of the people accused him of treason, and to this opinion Dante gave a permanent impression. So much is certain, that the Colonna were deceived by hopes which had been raised in the name of the Pope.[1] They now feared for life itself. It was said that Stephen, who had just made submission, was to be murdered by knights of S. John, suborned for the purpose. He and others of his house escaped the papal tribunal by flight, on which Boniface excommunicated them once more.[2] He proscribed them, forbade any town or country to receive them, annexed their property and bestowed a great part of it on Roman nobles, more especially on the Orsini. John Anibaldi of Ceccano was also involved in this proscription, while the unfortunate Fra Jacopone languished until the death of Boniface VIII. in a gloomy prison at Palestrina, whence, in touching verses, he vainly besought absolution from the inexorable Pope.[3]

and fly into exile.

[1] Benv. of Imola, S. Antonino, iii. 248, Villani, Bonincontrius, the *Chronicle of Este* (Murat., xv. 344) accuse the Pope of perjury.

[2] Bull *ad succidendos*, l. vi. Decretal. v. tit. iii.

[3] See the Satires xvii. and xix. in the Venetian edition of his

The Colonna fled, one in this direction, another in that; the wild Sciarra wandered, as Marius once had done, in woods and marshes. It was rumoured that he was taken by pirates on the coast near Marseilles, and was riveted to the bench of the galley, until the King of France purchased his release. The two cardinals remained in concealment among the Ghibellines who were friendly towards them. Stephen sought refuge in Sicily; but not feeling himself safe, he travelled to the royal courts of England and France. This noble man, a fugitive before the measureless anger of a pope whom the world did not love, was regarded with reverence wherever he appeared. He represented in exile the example of a proscribed Roman, in such wise that Petrarch flatteringly compared him to Scipio Africanus. We shall meet the celebrated Roman again in the history of the city, even in the times of the Tribune Cola, as in extreme old age he stands beside the grave of his unfortunate enemy Boniface, and also by the graves of his own children.[1]

Stephen Colonna a fugitive in foreign countries.

poems. Jacopone with the Colonna only received absolution from Benedict XI. He then lived in a Franciscan convent near Todi, where his epitaph in the church of S. Fortunatus says: *Ossa Beati Jacoponis de Benedictis, Tudertini, Fr. ordinis Minorum, qui stultus propter Christum, nova mundum arte delusit et cœlum rapuit.* It dates, however, from the year 1596.

[1] Petrarch, *De reb. famil.*, ii. Ep. 3, p. 592. See also de Sade, *Mémoires pour la vie de Petrarche*, i. 100.

CHAPTER VI.

1. The Centennial Jubilee Festival in Rome—Richard Anibaldi of the Colosseum and Gentilis Orsini, Senators, 1300—Toscanella rendered subject to the Capitol—Dante and Giovanni Villani as Pilgrims in Rome.

Boniface VIII. enjoyed yet another great triumph before he found himself called on to face severe struggles: he inaugurated the fourteenth century with a pilgrimage festival which has become renowned. The centennial jubilee had been celebrated in ancient Rome by magnificent games; the recollections of these games, however, had expired, and no tidings inform us whether the close or beginning of a century was marked in Christian Rome by any ecclesiastical festival. The immense processions of pilgrims to S. Peter's had ceased during the Crusades; the Crusades ended, the old longing re-awoke among the peoples and drew them again to the graves of the apostles. The pious impulse was fostered in no small degree by the shrewdness of the Roman priests. About the Christmas of 1299 (and with Christmas, according to the style of the Roman Curia, the year ended), crowds flocked both from the city and country to S. Peter's. A cry promising remission of sins to those who made the pilgrimage

to Rome resounded throughout the world and forced it into movement. Boniface gave form and sanction to the growing impulse by promulgating the Bull of Jubilee on February 22, 1300, which promised remission of sins to all who should visit the basilicas of SS. Peter and Paul during the year. The pilgrimage of Italians was to last for thirty days, that of foreigners for fifteen. The enemies of the Church were alone excluded. As such the Pope designated Frederick of Sicily, the Colonna and their adherents, and, curiously enough, all Christians who held traffic with Saracens. Boniface consequently made use of the jubilee to brand his enemies and to exclude them from the privileges of Christian grace.[1]

Boniface VIII. issues the Jubilee bull, Feb. 22, 1300.

The pressure towards Rome was unexampled. The city presented the aspect of a camp where crowds of pilgrims that resembled armies thronged incessantly in and out. A spectator standing on one of the heights of the city might have seen swarms like wandering tribes approach along the ancient Roman roads from north, south, east, and west, and, had he mixed among them, might have had difficulty in discovering their home. Italians, Provençals, Frenchmen, Hungarians, Slavs, Germans, Spaniards, even Englishmen came.[2] Italy gave free

[1] Bull *Antiquorum habet* (Raynald, A. 1300, n. iv.). Clement VI. ordered the jubilee to be celebrated every fifty years, Gregory XI. every thirty-three, Paul II. every twenty-five years. Bull, *Nuper per alias*, Rome, March 1, 1300 (Tosti, ii. 283).

[2] The greater number of pilgrims came from the south of France. England, on account of the wars, contributed but few: Jacopo Stefaneschi, *De centesimo, seu jubilæo anno Liber* (Bibl. Max. Vet. Patr., xxv. 936–944).

passage to pilgrims and kept the Truce of God. The crowds arrived wearing the pilgrim's mantle or clad in their national dress, on foot, on horseback, or on cars, leading the wearied and ill and laden with their luggage. Veterans of a hundred were led by their grandsons, and youths bore, like Æneas, father or mother on their shoulders.[1] They spoke in many dialects, but they all sang in the same language the litanies of the Church, and their longing dreams had but one and the same object. On beholding in the sunny distance the dark forest of towers of the holy city, they raised the exultant shout, "Rome, Rome!" like sailors who after a tedious voyage catch their first glimpse of land. They threw themselves down in prayer and rose again with the fervent cry, "S. Peter and S. Paul have mercy." They were received at the gates by their countrymen and by guardians appointed by the city to show them their quarters; nevertheless they first made their way to S. Peter's, ascended the steps of the vestibule on their knees, and then threw themselves in ecstasies on the grave of the apostle.

During an entire year Rome swarmed with pilgrims, and was filled with a perfect Babel of tongues. It was said that thirty thousand pilgrims entered and left the city daily, and that daily two hundred thousand pilgrims might have been found within it.[2] After a long interval the whole of Rome

[1] *Annales Veteres Mutinensium*, p. 75.

[2] Villani, viii. c. 36; *Annales Colon. Majores*, p. 225; *Chron. Parmense* (Parma, 1858), p. 109. *Et singulis diebus videbatur quod iret unus exercitus generalis omnibus horis per stratam Claudiam*

was, if not completely filled, at any rate sufficiently animated by people. An exemplary administration provided for order and for moderate prices. The year was fruitful, the Campagna and the neighbouring provinces sent supplies in abundance. One of the pilgrims who was a chronicler relates that "Bread, wine, meat, fish, and oats were plentiful and cheap in the market, the hay, however, very dear; the inns so expensive, that I was obliged to pay for my bed and the stabling of my horse (beyond the hay and oats) a Tornese groat a day. As I left Rome on Christmas Eve, I saw so large a party of pilgrims depart that no one could count the number. The Romans reckon that altogether they have had two millions of men and women. I frequently saw both sexes trodden under foot, and it was sometimes with difficulty that I escaped the same danger myself."[1]

The way that led from the city across the bridge of S. Angelo to S. Peter's was too narrow; a new street was therefore opened in the walls along the river, not far from the ancient tomb known as the Meta Romuli.[2] The bridge was covered with booths,

intus et extra. The chronicler of Asti reckons two millions of pilgrims for the entire year.

[1] *Chron. Astense* of Ventura (Murat., xi. 191). If he found *tornesium unum grossum* (the third of a franc) too much for lodging and stabling, we may reckon how little living cost in those days. Tosti, judging from the scarcity of hay, wrongly assumes that the Campagna produced more corn at that time than it does now. It has still a great amount of pasturage for sheep, but little hay.

[2] The work of Stefaneschi says: *appositura facta in mœnibus alta, qua peregrinantibus compendiosior pateret via inter monumentum Romuli ac vetustum portum.* I read *vetustum pontem*, and believe that the remains of the Neronian bridge are intended. The wall

which divided it in two, and in order to prevent accidents it was enacted that those going to S. Peter's should keep to one side of the bridge, those returning to the other.[1] Processions went incessantly to S. Paul's without the Walls and to S. Peter's, where the already renowned relic, the handkerchief of Veronica, was exhibited. Every pilgrim laid an offering on the altar of the apostle, and the same chronicler of Asti assures us, as an eye-witness, that two clerics stood by the altar of S. Paul's day and night, who with rakes in their hands gathered in untold money.[2] The marvellous sight of priests, who smilingly shovelled up gold like hay, caused malicious Ghibellines to assert that the Pope had appointed the jubilee solely for the sake of gain.[3]

Lavish offerings made by the pilgrims.

flanking the castle, which had only one gate, was pierced beside the river.

[1] Dante refers to this in *Inferno*, xviii. :—

Come i Roman, per l'esercito molto,
L'anno del Giubbileo su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto:
Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso 'l castello, e vanno a santo Pietro,
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso 'l Monte.

The *Monte* can only be *Monte Giordano*: I shall show that it formed a quarter surrounded by walls like a fortress.

[2] *Die ac nocte duo Clerici stabant ad altare S. Pauli tenentes in eorum manibus rastellos rastellantes pecuniam infinitam.*

[3] *Et quia multi contradicentes dictæ indulgentiæ dicentes ipsam factam fuisse acaptatoriam denariorum, ideo contradicentes excommunicavit: Chron. abbrev. Johis de Cornazano,* in the above mentioned edition of the *Chronicle of Parma*, p. 361. The same reproach is repeated by Charles Chais: *Lettres historiq. et dogmatiq. sur les Jubilés* (La Haye, 1751), a superficial production of Voltairian times.

And Boniface in truth stood in need of money to defray the expenses of the war with Sicily, which swallowed up incalculable sums. If instead of copper, the monks in S. Paul's had lighted on gold florins, they would necessarily have collected fabulous wealth, but the heaps of money both in S. Peter's and S. Paul's consisted mainly of small coins, the gifts of poor pilgrims. Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi pointedly comments on the fact and laments the change of times, when only the poor gave offerings and when kings no longer, like the three Magi, brought gifts to the Saviour. The receipts of the jubilee, which the Pope was able to devote to the two basilicas for the purchase of estates, were sufficiently considerable. If in ordinary years the gifts of pilgrims to S. Peter's amounted to thirty thousand four hundred gold florins, we may conclude how much greater must have been the gains of the year of jubilee.[1] "The gifts of pilgrims," wrote the chronicler of Florence, "yield treasures to the Church, and the Romans all grow wealthy by the sale of their goods."

The year of jubilee was for them indeed a year of wealth. The Romans, therefore, treated the pilgrims with kindness, and nothing is heard of any act of violence. If the fall of the house of Colonna had aroused enemies to the Pope in Rome, he disarmed them by the immense profits which accrued to the Romans, who have always lived solely on the money of foreigners. Their Senators at this time were Richard Anibaldi of the Colosseum, from which the

[1] Ptol. Lucensis (*Hict. Eccl.*, p. 1220) says: *singulis diebus ascendebat oblatio ad* 1000 *libras Perusinorum.*

Anibaldi had already expelled the Frangipani, and Gentile Orsini, whose name may still be read on an inscription in the Capitol. These gentlemen did not permit the pious enthusiasm of the pilgrimage to prevent them making wars in the neighbourhood. They allowed the pilgrims to pray at the altars, but they themselves advanced with the Roman banners against Toscanella, which they subjugated to the Capitol.[1]

Richard Anibaldi and Gentile Orsini, Senators, 1300.

We may imagine on how vast a scale Rome sold relics, amulets and images of saints, and at the same time how many remains of antiquity, coins, gems, rings, statues, marble remains and also manuscripts were carried back by the pilgrims to their homes. When they had sufficiently satisfied their religious instincts, these pilgrims turned with astonished gaze to the monuments of the past. Ancient Rome, through which they wandered, the book of the *Mirabilia* in their hand, exercised its profound spell

[1] *Mille trecentenis Domini currentibus annis*
Papa Bonifacius octavus in orbe vigebat
Tunc Aniballensis Riccardus de Coliseo
Nec non Gentilis Ursina prole creatus
Ambo Senatores Romam cum pace regebant—
— — — — — — tu Toscanella fuisti
Ob dirum dampnata nefas, tibi demta potestas
Sumendi regimen est, at data juribus Urbis.

The city was condemned to pay a tribute of 2000 *rubbi* of corn or 1000 pounds; and to send its bells and its gates to Rome. *Octo ludentes Romanis mittere ludis.* The inscription may still be seen built into the wall of the inner staircase in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. See S. Campanari, *Tuscania e i suoi monum.*, Montefiascone, 1856, ii. 189. Peter Stefani Rainerii and Anibal Ricardi officiated as Senators before Richard Anibaldi and Gentile Orsini (Wüstenfeld n. 42).

upon them. Besides the recollections of antiquity, other memories of the deeds of popes and emperors, from the time of Charles the Great, animated this classic theatre of the world in the year 1300. Every mind alive to the language of history must have deeply felt the influence of the city at this time, when troops of pilgrims from every country, wandering in this world of majestic ruins, bore living testimony to the eternal ties which bound Rome to mankind. It can scarcely be doubted that Dante beheld the city in these days and that a ray from them fell on his immortal poem, which begins with Easter week of the year 1300. The sight of the capital of the world inspired the soul of another Florentine. "I also found myself," writes Giovanni Villani, "in that blessed pilgrimage to the holy city of Rome, and as I beheld the great and ancient things within her and read the histories and the great deeds of the Romans, which Virgil, Sallust, Lucan, Titus Livius, Valerius, Paul Orosius and other great masters of history have described, I took style and form from them, although as a pupil I was not worthy to do so great a work. And thus in 1300, returned from Rome, I began to write this book to the honour of God and S. John and to the commendation of our city of Florence."[1] The fruit of Villani's creative enthusiasm was his history of Florence, the greatest and most naïve chronicle that has been produced in the beautiful Italian tongue; and it is possible that many other talented men may have received fruitful impressions from Rome at this time.

Dante and Villani as pilgrims in Rome.

[1] Villani, viii. c. 36.

For Boniface the jubilee was a real victory. The crowds that streamed to Rome showed him that men still retained their belief in the city as the sacred temple of the united world. The monster festival of reconciliation seemed to flow like a river of grace over his own past, and to wipe away the hated recollection of Celestine V., of his war with the Colonnas, and all the accusations of his enemies. In these days he could revel in a feeling of almost divine power, as scarcely any pope had been able to do before him. He sat on the highest throne of the West, adorned by the spoils of empire, as the "Vicar of God" on earth, as the dogmatic ruler of the world, the keys of blessing and destruction in his hand; he beheld thousands from distant lands come before his throne, and cast themselves in the dust before him as before a higher being. Kings, however, he did not see. Beyond Charles Martel no monarch came to Rome to receive, as a penitent, absolution for his sins.[1] This shows that the faith, which the battles of Alexander III. and Innocent III. had formerly won, was extinguished at royal courts.

Boniface VIII. closed the memorable festival on Christmas Eve of the year 1300. It forms an epoch in the history of the Papacy as in that of Rome; since on the year of jubilee and enthusiasm followed in terrible contrast the tragic end of the Pope, the fall of the Papacy from its height, and the decline of Rome into a position of awful solitude.

[1] Isabella Villehardouin, the widowed Princess of Achaia, was there as a pilgrim. *Livre de la Conqueste*, ed. Budwa, p. 394.

2. Frederick victorious in Sicily—Boniface VIII. summons Charles of Valois to Italy—The Empire — Adolf and Albert — Tuscany — The Whites and the Blacks—Dante in the Vatican—Unfortunate part played by Charles of Valois — Peace of Caltabellota — Quarrel between Boniface VIII. and Philip le Bel—Bull *Clericis Laicos*—A Bull publicly burnt in Paris—The whole of France is adverse to the Pope—The November Council in Rome—The French Parliament appeals to a General Council — The Pope recognises Albert of Austria—Degradation of the Empire.

Fortune turned against Boniface after the beginning of the fourteenth century. King Frederick, in whom a new Manfred had arisen, defended Sicily by his own valour and by means of the sacrifices of the people against half a world of opponents. The Pope now determined to make a great effort to restore the supremacy of the Church on the island. Deserted by James of Aragon, and irritated by the weakness of Charles II., to whom he issued commands, as if he were himself the ruler of Naples, he summoned to his aid a second Anjou, the brother of Philip of France. A pope once more invited a French prince to interfere in Italian affairs, and Dante's angry sentence on Boniface VIII. had just foundation in the appearance of the Frenchman in his native and. Charles of Valois, Count of Anjou, was enticed by specious promises in reward for his future deeds. For the subjugation of Sicily and the

Boniface VIII. summons Charles of Valois to Sicily, 1301.

Italian Ghibellines, he was to be made Senator of Rome, and with the hand of Catherine Courtenay (which the young Frederick had formerly disdained) was to inherit the claims of her house on Byzantium. The count came with mercenaries and with soldiers of fortune and hastened to the Pope at Anagni, where Charles II. and his sons were also. The campaign was discussed and Boniface appointed Valois (September 3, 1301) as Captain-General of the State of the Church and as Prince of Peace in Tuscany, so that the times of the first Anjou were in fact repeated.[1]

In consequence of the vacancy of the empire, which was sunk in deepest impotence, Boniface made over to him the governorship of Tuscany, which the Pope now intended to acquire for the Church. In brief, the condition of the empire was as follows. On the death of Rudolf the crown of Germany had been given to the powerless but chivalrous Count Adolf of Nassau; his rival, Albert of Austria, son of Rudolf, required some years to induce the Germans to desert his adversary, who, after his deposition by the states of the empire, lost life and crown in the battle near Gellnheim on July 2, 1298. Albert ascended the throne on August 24 of the same year. Boniface, however, whose consent had not been asked, refused his recognition, all the more because Albert concluded an alliance with Philip of France. He regarded him as guilty of high treason and as a regicide; he even summoned him before

Albert, King of the Romans, Aug. 24, 1298.

[1] The two diplomas from Anagni, Sep. 3 a. vii., are given in Theiner, i. n. 553, 554.

his tribunal and forbade the princes of the empire to look upon him as King of the Romans. It is said that he received the German envoys seated theatrically upon a throne, the crown on his head, and a sword in his hands, and that he angrily exclaimed, "I, I am the Emperor."[1] In a letter to the Duke of Saxony he required him to uphold his dealings with Albert of Austria, from whom he desired the surrender of the imperial rights over Tuscany in favour of the sacred chair. He therein said that every human dignity and every possession of the Roman empire was derived from the grace of the Pope.[2] It is probable that in case Charles of Valois served his aims, he held him out hopes of the Roman crown.

The Valois, however, did not possess any of the qualifications that had aided the first Angevin in the acquisition of the kingdom. He played an unfortunate part in Italy. The Pope first sent him to Tuscany, where a momentous revolution had just taken place. Guelf Florence, then in its glorious prime, was divided into the parties of Donati and Cerchi, the Whites and the Blacks, the former of whom from moderate Guelfs developed into Ghibellines. Boniface sent the Cardinal Matthew of Acquasparta thither, but the legate, derided by the Whites, who were then in power, left the city under the interdict. Dante has bequeathed us an imperishable

[1] *Nonne possum Imperii jura tutari? Ego sum Imperator!* Franc. Pipin, *Chron.*, p. 739.

[2] *Et quicquid honoris, preminentie, dignitatis et status Imperium seu Regnum Romanor, habet, ab ipsius sedis gratia, benignitate et concessione manavit:* Bull of May 13, 1300, dat. *Anagnie* (*Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, v. 453).

account of these Florentine quarrels, and from the storms of a little republic, which would otherwise have been forgotten as merely transient incidents in the history of the world, arose the greatest poem of the Christian age. It is not a little interesting to picture Dante before Boniface VIII., the most thoughtful spirit of the Middle Ages before the last magnificent mediæval pope. He came to Rome as an envoy of the Florentine Whites, to encounter the Blacks, who were at the papal court. After this time (1301) he never saw his native city again, but wandered in exile until his death.[1] Dante's appearance in the Vatican, his speeches, his disillusions, his verdict on Boniface, have remained unrecorded; but the poet, as judge of the dead, assigned the haughty Pope a place in his poetic hell, and this imaginary place of everlasting torment became transformed by the power of his genius into the actual tribunal of history.

Dante in presence of Boniface VIII.

The exertions of the Whites to restore unity to their ancestral city, and to avert the intervention of a foreigner, failed. The Blacks represented to the Pope that their opponents worked into the enemy's hands, and Valois, summoned by the Neri, entered Florence on November 1, 1301. The ruin of the prosperity of the magnificent city, and the treacherous banishment of the Whites, were the consequences of this intervention. Tuscany became divided between the two factions, and the support

Valois in Florence.

[1] I refer to Dino Compagni, Villani, and the biographers of Dante, among which the excellent work by Cesare Balbo is accessible to all readers.

which the Papacy had hitherto received from the Guelfs was thus lost. The favour which Boniface, from selfish motives, had hitherto shown to one party, soon avenged itself. Having proved himself powerless in Florence, which he left in confusion, Valois came to Rome in the spring of 1302, where he failed to receive the dignity of a Senator. He went forthwith to Naples, to place himself at the head of the great expedition against Sicily, which the Pope had equipped from the resources of the Church. He was no more fortunate in Sicily. Frederick destroyed the hostile army in a petty war, and acquired an unhoped-for peace. By the treaty of Caltabellota (on August 31, 1302) he was recognised as King of Sicily for life. He married Leonora, a daughter of Charles II., to whose heirs he promised the island on his death. This promise, never recognised by the Sicilian parliament, was also never kept. Boniface was reluctant to accept the peace, in which no account had been taken either of himself or of the Church. He confirmed it, nevertheless, under condition that Frederick acknowledged himself vassal of the Church. Frederick, however, never paid tribute to the Church. The Pope's consciousness of power was already weakened; a greater struggle, which the principles of the Roman Church obliged him to undertake, was about to burst upon him, and in the brief but world-famous contest Boniface VIII. was defeated.

Boniface VIII. is defeated in Sicily, 1302.

The French monarch took up the war against ecclesiastical supremacy, in which the Hohenstaufens, after having shaken the foundations of the Papacy,

had perished. This event grew into one of the most important revolutions of the ecclesiastical and political world. For during the entire Middle Ages France had been the asylum and the most faithful defender of the Papacy ; it had effected the downfall of the Hohenstaufens ; its influence had supplanted German influence both in Italy and Rome. When the popes, however, raised the royal house of France to the throne of Italy and made it the protector of the Church, their weakness was punished by the ever-recurring law which transforms protectors into conquerors. With Charles of Anjou, the Papacy was gradually conquered by France, until the sacred chair was removed to the shores of the Rhone, and was occupied solely by Frenchmen for a space of seventy years. The collision between the spiritual claims of Rome and the national pride of France was rendered unavoidable, when Boniface VIII., in an age of advanced civilisation, sought to turn the principles of papal universal supremacy against the protectorate of France. The German empire was defeated by the popes because it did not rest on practical grounds ; but the quarrel between the King of France and the Pope was a war of the law of the State against the law of the Church, on the soil of a national monarchy defended by the estates of the realm. The tedious reaction of the political spirit against this European ecclesiastical law, which penetrated all civil and economic relations, is, upon the whole, the chief motive of the history of the Middle Ages. It appears in every period under different forms and names, more especially as

the quarrel for investitures and the war with the Hohenstaufens; it was afterwards continued in the Reformation, later in the French Revolution, and is still evident in the concordats of the latest times and in the oppositions of our own days.[1]

Philip le Bel, King of France,

Philip le Bel, grandson of that Lewis IX. whom Boniface VIII. in 1297 had himself received among the saints of the Church, reigned in France at this time. He was a prince of talent and ambition, an unscrupulous despot, but one of the founders of the French monarchy. A man such as he was eminently qualified to encounter the exasperating arrogance of a Boniface VIII. The Pope's interference in the war between France and England, in which he hoped to act as judge, the investitures and the tithes demanded, brought Philip into collision with the Roman Curia. Boniface issued his bull, *Clericis Laicos*, mainly to protect the immunity of the churches, and by this bull he solemnly forbade all clergy and religious bodies to make gifts, or to pay taxes, to laymen without permission from the Pope. This bull struck severely at King Philip, who required tribute from his clergy for his wars in Flanders and England, and who in his financial distress had been reduced to issue base money in the most shameless way. He replied by forbidding money to be sent from France, an order which dealt a no less severe blow to Rome.

comes into collision with Boniface VIII.

When the Pope yielded and the storm was

[1] The issue of the Encyclical and of the Syllabus of December 8, 1864, and finally the dogma of the Infallibility, have revived the memory of the times of Boniface VIII.

consequently appeased, a more severe tempest broke forth in 1301. It was caused by the controversies between spiritual and temporal rights, and by the administration of vacant benefices, which the French crown claimed as regalia. The papal legate was imprisoned and put on his trial; a parliament approved the high-handed conduct of the King, and Boniface consequently addressed a bull to Philip, on Dec. 5, which set France in complete uproar. He reproved the King for his attacks on the rights of the Church, explained that the pope had received from God absolute power over kings and kingdoms, warned him to disabuse his mind of the idea that he had no superior over him, admonished him to dismiss his evil counsellors, and invited the French clergy to a Council in Rome on November 1, 1302, where sentence would be passed as to whether the King was right or wrong.[1] A storm of indignation rose at the French court. The jurisconsults, among them Peter Flotte and William of Nogaret, excited the King by speeches and also perhaps by papal letters which had been forged. It was asserted that Boniface presumed to treat free France as a vassal state. The papal bull was publicly burnt at Notre Dame in Paris on February 11, 1302, and its destruction publicly proclaimed by heralds amid the braying of trumpets. The first flame which

He orders a papal bull to be publicly burnt, Feb. 11, 1302.

[1] The bull *Ausculta fili*, Dupuy, *Hist. du Differ.*, n. 48; that to the French clergy, n. 53. The Acts in the *Regesta* of Boniface VIII. are mutilated, since Philip caused all the passages which were adverse to him to be obliterated by Clement V.—the strongest evidence of the servile submission into which he had brought the Papacy.

consumed a papal bull was a historic event. The legate was banished with insult; a royal edict, as in the days of Frederick II., forbade the clergy to travel to the Council; a parliament of the three states assembled at Notre Dame on April 10, and confirmed these decrees, and the bishops, who had already assumed a submissive attitude towards the King, willingly or otherwise bowed to his commands. It was the first time that the clergy of a country deserted the pope and stood by the prince. When Boniface received the letter in which the Gallican Church opposed his assertion that the pope stood above the king even in temporal matters, and which implored him to release the clergy from their journey to Rome, he recognised that an abyss was opening before him. But he could no longer draw back without morally destroying the papal power in the eyes of the world. He must try to break the French monarchy which was becoming united, as his predecessors had broken the empire of the Hohenstaufens which was growing absolute.[1]

Boniface VIII. issues the bull *Unam Sanctam*, Nov. 18, 1302.

At the Council of the Lateran in November, where only a few of the French clergy appeared, Boniface issued the bull *Unam Sanctam*. In this writing he embodied all the principles of his predecessors respecting the Divine authority of the Papacy, and all that the popes had acquired in a long course of centuries down to himself, in the following foolhardy speech. "We declare," it says, "that it is necessary to salvation that every human creature should be subject to

[1] Flathe, *Gesch. der Vorläufer der Reformation*, ii. 27, well depicts the attitude of Boniface VIII. towards France.

the Roman pope." This dogma he placed as a crown on the structure of the Roman hierarchy, which towered to the skies.[1] But the proclamation of the papal judicial authority in the mouth of Boniface VIII. was merely a powerless phrase, although the same view was repeated in the Avignonese period, and called forth a storm of investigation in the sphere of theology and jurisprudence, which is not ended even at the present day. When the attempt at reconciliation failed and the Pope threatened excommunication, Philip made use of the estates of the realm to wage war upon his enemy; the first genuine parliament of France overthrew the arrogant Papacy. It met in the Louvre on June 13, 1303. The foremost nobles came forward as accusers of the Pope. The charges, which they brought against a man of more than eighty, were for the most part too absurd to be other than the explosions of hatred, but the fact that a national parliament indicted a pope, and appealed from him to a General Council, was serious

The French parliament appeals to a Council.

[1] *Porro subesse Rom. Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, et diffinimus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.* Closing sentence of the bull (Raynald, n. 13). Other sentences: *oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati.—Spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare, si bona non fuerit.*—These doctrines, which were not new, had already been uttered by Boniface in his letter to the Duke of Saxony in 1300: *Ap. sedes divinitus constituta super Reges et Regna—cui omnis anima quasi sublimiori preminencie debet esse subjecta, per quam principes imperant* (Theiner, i. n. 547). *Omnis anima* here entirely corresponds to the phrase *omni humanæ creaturæ* in the bull *U. S.* I consequently reject the explanation maintained by Berthold (*Die Bulle U. S.*, 1887), that *omni humanæ creaturae* signifies "every human authority."

and fruitful of consequences.[1] A few years before two cardinals had cited the same pope before a Council; the representative of a great Catholic nation now adopted the same course, and thus the power to which Frederick II. had first appealed was evoked against the principle of papal omnipotence. The whole of France in all its spiritual and secular corporations repeated the appeal.

Boniface beheld the approach of a terrible catastrophe. He did not lose courage, but in his infatuation deceived himself concerning the limits of the papal power. Nothing but his own fall, nothing but the defeat of the Papacy, which his immediate successors were obliged to recognise as an accomplished fact, enlightened the world on the subject. The Papacy suffered because it was incapable of rallying Italy round itself and of realising the Guelf theory. The great national policy of Alexander and Innocent III. had been surrendered by the popes. In order to overthrow the Hohenstaufens they had summoned foreign princes into Italy, but had not been able to solve the differences between Guelfs and Ghibellines. The political ideal of the Curia was not rooted in the soil of Italy. To a large section of the Italians the Guelf idea appeared as a revolutionary novelty; they had never had any respect for the Papacy because they surveyed it from too short a distance.

[1] These accusations were repeated in the trial of 1311; heresy, tyranny, unchastity, intercourse with the devil. The Colonna believed that he held a spirit enclosed in a ring, which had formerly belonged to King Manfred. *Preuves de l'hist. du Different, &c.*, and Acts in Höfler's *Rückblick auf Bonif. VIII.*, p. 32.

Boniface had already sought protection from the German empire against France, and Albert, with profuse promises, offered his services. The Pope consequently found that the traitor and regicide was worthy of the Roman crown. He recognised him on April 30, 1303, but in grandiloquent language treated him as a suppliant sinner, to whom he accorded pity instead of justice, and to whom solely of his mercy he gave the Roman crown.[1] While he released him from all alliances with foreign kings, he expressly assured him of his assistance against Philip le Bel. The Nuremberg Diplomas of July 17, 1303, are the pitiable witnesses of the slavish subjugation of the imperial power to the Papacy. The Roman King unblushingly admitted that the pope alone bestowed the crown of empire, that the princes of the empire only possessed the elective right in virtue of the power bestowed by him, that everything that the empire and emperors possessed emanated from the papal grace. He promised not to send any vicar into the imperial possessions in Italy without the consent of the sacred chair, and even condescended to promise that none of his sons—children of Conradin's half-sister—should be elected King of the Romans without permission of the pope. To such profound abasement did the imperium sink in the person of the one-eyed and intellectually insignificant son of Rudolf. The head of the empire, the successor of the Hohenstaufens, acknowledged himself as a vassal of the Pope at the time when the King of France cited the latter before a General Council,

Boniface recognises Albert on April 30, 1303.

Albert admits the feudal supremacy of the Pope, July 17, 1303.

[1] *Misericordiam humiliter implorasti.*—Theiner, i. n. 567.

because he had pronounced the royal power subject to the sacred chair. This was an additional ground for Boniface's delusion concerning his own power.[1]

3. French Scheme for the Overthrow of the Pope—Sciarra and Nogaret come to Italy—Conspiracy of the Latin Barons—Manner in which the Power of the Gætani was founded in Latium—Catastrophe in Anagni—The Pope's return to Rome—His desperate Position in the Vatican—His Death, 1303.

When the emperors wished to overthrow popes, their enemies, they came in their own capacity as Roman imperators with an army and made open war. The King of France possessed no such title to enter on a campaign against a pope; he resorted to a dishonourable expedient in order to silence his opponent. The attack on Boniface VIII. in his ancestral town of Anagni, executed by mercenaries of a foreign despot, and in concert with Latin barons,

[1] Olenschlager is of opinion that these fantastic documents are not due to a German pen (*Erläut. Staatsgesch. des Röm. Kaisertums*, Frankfort, 1755, p. 13). This is now the creed of the emperor: *recognoscens—quod Rom. Imp. per Sed. Ap. de Grecis translatum est in persona Magnif. Caroli in Germanos, et quod jus eligendi Rom. regem, in Imp. postmod. promovendum, certis principib. ecclesiasticis et secularib. est ab ead. sede concessum, a qua reges et imp., qui fuerunt et erunt pro temp., recipiunt temporalis gladii potestatem ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum—profiteor.* . . . The formal feudal oath follows: *non ero in consilio, &c.* (*Mon. Germ.*, iv. 483; Theiner, i. n. 570. N. 569 contains the *Privil. Alberti regis R. de tuendis regalib. B. Petri*, which is absent from the *Mon. Germ.*).

his fellow-conspirators, was an act unheard of in the history of the popes. The exiled members of the house of Colonna had been received by Philip at his court; they fanned his wrath and he utilised their desire for revenge for his own purposes. Some time in February 1303 the plan was conceived of taking the Pope a prisoner and bringing him before a Council in Lyons. Guillaume de Nogaret of Toulouse, a doctor of law, and formerly a professor at Montpellier, undertook the execution of the design. On March 12 a meeting was held in the Louvre, in which some prelates also took part, and Nogaret brought before them the accusations against the Pope. Soon afterwards the minister journeyed to Italy with full powers from the King, who authorised his undertaking in general terms. The scheme was discussed with Sciarra at the castle of Staggia near Poggibonzi, which belonged to a Florentine banker, Musciatto, one of the conspirators. The agents were provided with letters of exchange on the house of Peruzzi, and no money was spared to bribe both friends and foes of the unsuspecting Pope, while Nogaret assumed the demeanour of an envoy sent to negotiate with him.[1]

Philip's scheme for the overthrow of the Pope.

The French minister sought, although in vain, to draw the King of Naples into the conspiracy, and equally fruitless were the exertions of his agents among the Romans. But his gold made its way

[1] Concerning Nogaret and his scheme: Renau, "Guillaume de Nogaret Légiste," *Hist. Littéraire de la France*, vol. 27 (1877), p. 233 f, and "Un ministre du roi Philippe le Bel" in *Rev. d. d. Mondes*, 1872, March and April.

into the fortresses of the Campagna. Above all, Nogaret won to his side Raynald of Supino, the captain of Ferentino, from whom the nephew of the Pope had wrested the fortress of Trevi and other property.[1] Almost the whole of Latium took part in the conspiracy. The nepotism of the Pope avenged itself, and it was in Latium, where the Gætani had founded their dominion mainly by supplanting the former proprietors.[2] Not only to explain the fall of Boniface VIII., but also in order that we may understand the conditions of baronial rule in this age, it is important that we should depict the gigantic growth of a single papal house in the rise of the Gætani.

The Gætani Pope had taken advantage of the misfortunes of the Colonna to found a great family dynasty, which he did mainly between the years 1297 and 1303, and out of the means provided by the ecclesiastical treasury. Martin IV. and Nicholas IV., it is true, had prohibited the sale of the estates on the Campagna to the barons of Rome, in order to restrict the growth of the provincial nobility. Boniface, however, repealed the law in favour of his nephew Peter. Sermoneta, situated on the slopes

[1] As late as October 29, 1312, Raynald of Supino acknowledged in Paris the receipt of 10,000 florins *de auxilio quod fecit pro executione captionis Bonifacii* (*Preuves*, pp. 608–611).

[2] Ferretus Vincentinus, p. 996, reproaches the Pope with having bought up Anagni by force to give it to his nephews. I have read a number of documents which prove the purchase of estates there by the Gætani. The domestic archives of the family have placed me in a position to show that the fall of Boniface was solely due to the barons of the Campagna.

of the Volscian Mountains, then Norma and Ninfa, estates which in ancient times had been presented to the Church by a Byzantium emperor, became the centre of the Gætani dominion in Latium and still remain to the house.[1] Sermoneta, the ancient Sulmona, from which the Gætani now take the ducal title, belonged to the Anibaldi. This fortress, with Bassano and S. Donato near Terracina, they had sold to Peter Gætani, on June 16, 1297, for thirty-four thousand gold florins.[2] While still a cardinal, Boniface had purchased Norma from John Jordani on January 2, 1292, for twenty-six thousand gold florins.[3] Ninfa, on the edge of the Pontine Marshes, had been bought by Count Peter for the then astounding sum of two hundred thousand gold florins on September 8, 1298; and thus the hereditary dominion of the Gætani was already founded in Sermoneta, Norma, and Ninfa. Ninfa was and still is the greatest *Latifundium* in the whole of Latium; it stretched from the Volscian Mountains across the marshes with its towers, country houses, lakes and woods to the shore, and further still for one hundred miles into the sea.[4] The Roman Church, the

Sermoneta, Norma, Ninfa and other estates of the Gætani.

[1] *Nymphas et Normias*, vol. ii. of this history.

[2] They were *Anibaldus et Johes. filii quond. Petri Transmundi de Anibaldis de Urbe.* The Pope ratified the sale in Anagni, October 7, 1299 (*Gætani Archives*, vi. n. 20). The other Anibaldi, Riccardus de Militiis and his relatives gave their ratification in Rome on December 17, 1297 (*Ibid.*, xxxi. n. 30).

[3] *Gætani Archives*, xliv. n. 40: *Johes. fil. qd. Jordani de Normis . . . vendidit—Benedicto—Cardinali . . . tres partes Rocce et totius Castri de Normis.*

[4] In the trial at Avignon, when the royal accusers reproached the dead Pope for having ousted the barons of Latium from their property, it

Colonna, the Frangipani, the Anibaldi, several other proprietors and the commune of the district divided between them the rights over Ninfa; nevertheless, as early as 1279 Loffred and his son Peter Gætani bought out the private owners.[1] The commune even conferred the dominium on Peter on February 11, 1298. If a single baron was capable of spending two hundred thousand gold florins, or six hundred and thirty thousand thalers, a sum which in value was equivalent to about £600,000 sterling in the present day, we may judge of the wealth then accumulated by the relations of the popes.[2] Boniface also, in the name of the Church, confirmed his nephew in the possession of Ninfa in perpetuity, as a fief of the family, under prohibition, however, of its being ceded under any title whatever to the excommunicated Colonna.[3] Peter afterwards built a mag-

was said: *castrum tamen Nymphæ, quod. ditissim. castr., est et uberrimum in redditib., quod ad jus D. Petri de Columpna pertinet—violenter—usque hodie contra Deum et justitiam detinetur per nepotes ipsius. Histoire du Diff.*, 343.

[1] This is shown by numerous documents in the Colonna Archives, into which several parchments of the house of Gætani have found their way.

[2] Document of February 11, 1298 (*Gætani Archives*, xxv. 35): *act. in territorio Nimphe in loco ubi dicitur Foliano. . . .* The formula of the seizure was *ambulando, eundo et calcando pedib.* and earth, foliage, fresh water, and sea water were given into the hands of the procurator of the baron. On September 8, 1298 (xxviii. 36), the Syndic of Ninfa acknowledged receipt of the sum of 200,000 florins in ready money as *sibi integre solutum et numeratum: act. in Palatio quond. Communis:* that is to say, Ninfa was no longer a free commune. I have already remarked that Agapitus Colonna ceded his rights over Ninfa at Rieti on September 19, 1298.

[3] *Non trasferatis aliquo alienationis genere — in Jacobum de Columpna vel Petrum nepotem ejus olim S.R.E. Cardinales nunc*

nificent castle with a massive tower, which, half in ruins and clothed with ivy, is still reflected in the marshes of Ninfa.

Boniface's restless nephew bought the Torre delle Milizie in Rome and the fortress of S. Felice on the Cape of Circe from Richard Anibaldi in 1301; for at this point, as at Astura, he was aiming to extend his dominion to Terracina, and thus to become prince of the Latin Maritima. The ancient fortress of Circe, called in the Middle Ages, as it still is, the Rocca Circegii and Castrum Sancti Felicis, was divided or contested between the Church, the town of Terracina, the Frangipani and other nobles. Innocent III. had annexed the castle to the State of the Church; later it had fallen into possession of the Templars, the monastery of whose order was S. Maria on the Aventine; the Templars exchanged it with Cardinal Jordan Conti; whereupon the Anibaldi became masters of the fortress of Circe. Count Peter bought it from them on November 23, 1301, for two hundred thousand gold florins.[1] About the

The fortress of Circe.

depositos, vel filios qd. Johis de Columpna. Original bull, given at Anagni, October 2, 1300, signed by fourteen cardinals (Gætani Archives). The Cardinals Matthew Orsini and Francis Gætani hereupon placed Count Peter in possession of Ninfa, for which he ceded some palaces in Orvieto to the Church. (Lateran, October 10, 1300: *Gætani Archives*, xxv. 39).

[1] *Vita Innoc. III.*, p. 489: *Roccam Circegii redemit a Rolando Guidonis de Leculo, cui Oddo et Robert. Frajapanis in feud. concesserunt.* On May 3, 1259, Peter Fernandi, Master of the Templars in Italy, with the consent of the convent of the order *S. M. de Aventino*, exchanged with Jordan, Vice-Chancellor of the Church, *locum Sci. Felicis in monte Circego* for the Casale Piliocta (the present Cicchignola on the Via Ardeatina, Nerini, p. 229). Act inserted in the bull of ratification of Alexander IV., Anagni, October 29, 1259,

Astura.

same time he acquired the half of Astura from the Frangipani for thirty thousand gold florins, but, as early as 1304, he was obliged to renounce the property. Lord of a great territory on the Maritima, the powerful count now strove to acquire fortresses on the other side of the Volscian Mountains (where stood Anagni, the home of his race) and also in the Sabina. On August 15, 1299, he obtained Carpineto from the chapter of the Lateran for the yearly rent of one gold florin. The fortress of Trevi he acquired from the heirs of Raynald and Berald for twenty thousand gold florins, the fortress of Sculcola from Adinolf of Supino, the heir of the ancient house of Galvan and Conrad, for an unknown sum, on December 15, 1299.[1]

The fortunate nephew, by means of sums which would now be equal to over a million sterling, had consequently founded his Latin dominion in the space of four years. The Pope, during his quarrel with the Colonna and also after their fall, in which a branch of the Anibaldi was involved, had allowed

and addressed to Jordan—the same Jordan who had demanded Conradin's surrender at Astura (*Gætani Archives*, xxxviii. 39).—The Act of November 23, 1301, executed in the Lateran, *ibid.*, xlviii. 76. The Pope ratified the purchase on January 28, 1302 (Theiner, i. n. 559).

[1] Carpineto, Bull. dat. Trevi, September 4, 1299 (*Gætani Archives*, cxvii. 15). Trevi with other fortresses (xliii. 24, xlv. 35). Sculcola (xlvii. 16); and the deed of vassalage of the fortress of May 4, 1300 (xlvii. 14). The people of Sculcola made a reservation in favour of their customs "as in the time of Conradus." On February 27, 1300, Peter bought their rights in Sculcola from several nuns of the convent of S. Maria de Viano, heiresses of Galvan and Conrad (*Colonna Archives*, Scafale v. n. 3).

him to acquire this dominion in order, by raising the power of his own house, to impede his enemies' plans for revenge. In a bull of February 10, 1303, he confirmed this splendid baronial territory to "his beloved son Peter Gætani, his nephew, the Count of Caserta and Dominus of the Militia of the city." He therein abolished the already mentioned privileges of Martin and Nicholas IV., he enumerated with satisfaction the places which his nephew had acquired by purchase, gift and exchange, he ratified them to his descendants for ever, and gave him the privilege of acquiring other estates.[1] This barony, which had so suddenly come into existence, comprised the whole of lower Latium, and extended from the Cape of Circe to Ninfa, from Ceprano across the mountains to Jenne and Subiaco. The Neapolitan fiefs of the house lay on the other side of the Liris; for Peter, as his father's heir, was Count of Caserta and other fortresses, while his son Loffred was feudal lord of the ancient county of Fundi. In fact, the Pope had married the youthful Loffred to Margaret, Countess-Palatine of Tuscany, daughter of Count Aldobrandinus Rubeus, and widow first of the cele-

Boniface VIII. ratifies his nephew Peter in possession of his estates, Feb. 10, 1303.

[1] Bull *Circumspecta sedis, dat. Lateran., IV. Id. Febr. a. IX.* (*Gætani Archives*, xxxvi. n. 43). *Cum itaque tu post inhibitiones hujusm. in eisd. Campanie ac Maritime partib. Castra Trebarum, Fellectini et Vallispetre, Gabiniani, Sculcule, Turris, Tribiliani, Pofarum, Carpini, Falvaterre, Collismedii, Carpineti, Sermineti, Bassani, S. Donati, Normarum, Nimphe, Sce. Felicis. et Asture . . . ac alia quamplur. bona . . . in nonnullis civitatib. . . . de nostra conscientia acquisivisse noscaris.* The deed of division of the inheritance, November 24, 1317, in Anagni, between the sons of Peter, Loffred of Fundi, Benedict and Francis, adds yet other fortresses (*ibid.*, xxxii. 24).

brated Guido de Montfort and afterwards of Ursus Orsini. He thus became lord of the county of the Aldobrandeschi in the Tuscan Maritima. Boniface with deliberate purpose dissolved the union with this voluptuous and restless woman in 1297, and married his great-nephew to Johanna, daughter of Richard of Aquila, the heiress of Fundi, by which this county also fell into the possession of the Gætani.[1] Loffred's brother Benedict was, however, Count-Palatine in the territory of the Aldobrandeschi, although merely in title, since the town of Orvieto had seized the fortresses within the district.

Such were the circumstances of the house of Gætani, and it will be perceived how strong was the feeling of indignation in Latium against the overbearing family which the Pope had founded. The barons who still dwelt in their fortresses, or those who, under the oppression of the papal authority, had gone over to Peter, the Ghibelline nobles from Sculcola, Supino, Morolo, Collemezzo, Trevi, Ceccano, knights and people in Ferentino, Alatri, Segni,

The Latin barons as conspirators against the Pope.

[1] The Pope deprived Margaret of all the ecclesiastical fiefs, and then the monastery *ad Aquas Salvias*; invested Benedict, third son of Peter, with several of the estates, which she had previously held, for a tribute of only fifteen Provins pounds yearly; such were Ansidonia, Porto d'Ercole, Monte Argentaro, Orbitello and Giglio (*Gætani Archives*, xlvii. 39; March 12, 1303). This single convent near Rome held possession of these Tuscan towns, and claimed them as a donation of Charles the Great. Fundi came into the hands of Loffred Gætani in October 1299 (xxxix. 39). On October 3, 1298, Boniface VIII. in Rieti commanded the Bishop of the Sabina to dissolve the marriage between Loffred and Margaret, who was living in bigamy (xxvii. 2). The reader with the help of these documents gains a glimpse into the astutely calculated domestic policy of Boniface.

and Veroli, all willingly entered into Nogaret's scheme.[1] Even burghers of Anagni, a city which perhaps dreaded falling under the baronial sway of the Gætani, were false to Boniface, from whom they had received many benefits.[2] The sons of the knight Matthias Conti, Nicholas and Adenulf, of whom one had formerly been podestà, the other captain of Anagni, were here the Pope's bitterest enemies, and with Giffrid Bussa, marshal of the papal court, were the heads of the conspiracy.[3]

[1] The heads of the conspiracy were: Raynald of Supino, Thomas of Morolo, Peter Colonna of Olevano and Genazzano, Godfrey of Ceccano, Massimo of Trevi, Jordan and his sons Galvan and Peter of Sculcola, a John Conti—who were all absolved by Clement V. in 1312 as faithful adherents of King Philip. The names are given in the acts of the trial, in the bull *Flagitiosum* of Benedict XI., and in that of Clement V., Vienne, April 20, 1312 (*Reg. Clem. P. V.*, n. 8248, edition of the Benedictines, Rome, 1885 *sq.*). Further in the documents from the Statutes of Anagni in John Rubeus (*Boniface VIII.*, Rome, 1651, p. 338).

[2] Twenty inhabitants of Anagni, friends and relatives, had been made bishops by Boniface VIII.: S. Antonino, iii. 259.

[3] As early as 1222 an important man named Mathias appears in Anagni (*Registro del Card. Ugolino d'Ostia*, ed. Levi, Rome, 1890, p. 145); in 1252 he owned the fortress of Bruttinoro (*ibid.*, p. 186). In 1263 Urban IV. calls Mathias de Anagnia *nepos felicis mem. C. pape predecessoris nostri* (Theiner, i. 285); his sons, *ibid.*, n. 585. When carrying on negotiations with Manfred, Innocent IV. dwelt at Anagni *in palatio D. Mathiæ* (Nichol. de Curbio). Matthew was a member of the house of Conti. On March 30, 1300, we read: *nob. viros Adinulphum et Nicolaum filios quond. D. Mathie de Papa cives Anagninos* (De Magistris, *Storia di Anagni*, p. 148). As nephew of a pope he bore the surname *de Papa*. Concerning this violent man, see the accounts in R. Ambrosi de Magistris, "Un Inventario dei beni del Comune di Anagni del sec. XIV.," *Archiv. della Soc. Rom. di Storia Patria*, vii. According to him Matthew was a member of the house of Conti, so that *G* should be substituted for *C* in Urban's

Those in most immediate attendance on the Pope joined in the plot; within the college of cardinals itself adherents of the Colonna desired his fall; Richard of Siena and Napoleon Orsini were initiated into the conspiracy. The latter received Sciarra, his brother-in-law, at Marino, where they are said to have discussed together the manner of carrying out the design.[1]

Raynald of Supino, captain of Ferentino, some other barons, Nogaret and Sciarra collected troops in Sculcola. The unsuspecting Pope was at Anagni with several cardinals. He had taken the oath of purgation in public consistory on August 15. On September 8 he intended to pronounce Philip's excommunication and deposition in the same cathedral from which Alexander III. had excommunicated Frederick I. and Gregory IX. Frederick II.[2] The conspirators, therefore, hastened to silence him before he should pronounce the bull. They left Sculcola on the night of September 6, and in the dawn of morning entered the gates of Anagni, which had been opened to them, unfolding the banner of France with the cry: "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live King Philip!" Adenulf with the city militia immediately joined them, and Nogaret ex-

Nogaret and Sciarra Colonna attack Anagni, Sept. 1303.

bull. Boniface VIII. while cardinal had already bought the rights over *Castrum Silvamolle* from the family of Bussa (Gætani Archives).

[1] Ferretus Vicentin. (p. 1002) represents this cardinal as the real betrayer of the Pope.

[2] See the papal report or paper *Super Petri Solio*, which was to have been read aloud on September 8. *Histoire du Diff.*, p. 181.

plained to the people that he had come to invite the Pope to a Council.[1]

The clash of arms aroused the old man in his palace, the approaches to which were kept barred by his nephew Count Peter. The enemy did not succeed in reaching the cathedral, with which the papal palace was connected, until they had taken by assault Peter's house and the houses of three cardinals, the Penitentiary Gentilis, Francesco Gætani, and Peter the Spaniard. The nephews manfully defended the palace and Boniface strove to gain time by negotiation. Sciarra accorded him a nine hours' delay for the acceptance of dishonouring conditions, among which were his abdication and the immediate restoration of the house of Colonna. These articles were declined and the storm was renewed. In order to reach the palace the besiegers set fire to the doors of the cathedral; the Pope, who had in vain summoned the people of Anagni to his rescue, soon found himself alone; his servants fled or deserted to the enemy; the cardinals disappeared, with the exception of Nicholas Boccasini of Ostia

[1] Account of an eye-witness, an Italian from Cesena, *De horribili insultatione . . . B. Pape*, from a manuscript in the British Museum, already printed in the Chronicle of William Rishanger (*Rer. Brit. med. Scrip.*, London, 1865, iii. 483, and again by Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Rev. d. quest. hist.*, xl. 511 f.). The writer makes the people of Anagni only assemble after the entry of the enemy and elect Adenulf *capitan. pop.* This, however, is a mistake. He is, strange to say, silent concerning Nogaret, and only speaks of Sciarra. A second account, from a manuscript of Vienne, is likewise contemporary; in *Rev. de quest. hist.*, 1888, p. 557. According to this, Nogaret and Sciarra broke in with 600 horsemen and 1050 foot soldiers.

and Peter the Spaniard. The nephews laid down their arms; they were taken as prisoners to the house of Adenulf. Cardinal Francesco alone and the Count of Fundi succeeded in escaping in disguise.[1]

When Nogaret and Sciarra, one the representative of the hatred of his King, the other the avenger of his ill-used house, made their way across the corpses of the slain (amongst whom was a bishop) to the palace, part of which was in flames, they found themselves in the presence of an old man clad in pontifical vestments, the tiara on his head, seated upon a throne, and bowed over a gold cross which he held in his hands. He was resolved to die as Pope.[2] His venerable age and his majestic silence disarmed the men for an instant,[3] then with yells they demanded his degradation, declared that they would carry him in chains to Lyons to be deposed, and allowed themselves to descend to insults, which he bore with magnanimity. The wild Sciarra seized him by the arm, dragged him from the throne, and would have thrust his dagger in his breast. Nogaret held his companion back by force.[4] The ferocity,

Ill-treatment and imprisonment of Boniface VIII.

[1] Nogaret's report of September 7, 1304, *Preuves de l'histoire*, p. 239; the account *de horribili insultatione;* and the first half of Walsingham's story (*Hist. du Diff.*, p. 154): the second, like Knighton, is full of inventions.

[2] Villani, viii. c. 64; Franc. Pipin, *Chron.*, p. 40; *Istorie Pistolesi*, Murat., xi. 528. The description in Ferretus is improbable.

[3] *Sed Papa nulli respondit;* in Walsingham.

[4] Nogaret's box on the ear is assuredly invented. The bull of Benedict XI. is silent concerning physical ill-usage, which is also denied by Villani, Benvenuto da Imola, and Franc. Pipin. *Personam ejus non tetigi, nec tangi permisi*, declared Nogaret, who could not

the excitement, the terror and despair knew no bounds; moderation, however, finally triumphed over passion. In strict imprisonment, under the custody of Raynald of Supino, Boniface was confined in the palace, while mercenaries as well as citizens sacked his treasures, which were believed inexhaustible, the cathedral, and also the houses of his nephews.[1]

The almost inexplicable success of the attack shows how defenceless the Pope had become in his own country. His native city abandoned him to a hostile gang, which beside Nogaret and two French servants consisted solely of Italians. "O miserable Anagni," cried Boniface's impotent successor a year later, "that thou shouldst have allowed such a deed to be committed within thee! May neither dew nor rain fall upon thee! May it fall on other mountains and pass thee by, since under thy eyes, and although thou couldst have defended him, the hero fell, and he who was girded with power was vanquished!"[2]

have told falsehoods here with such effrontery. The account *de horr. insult.* already mentioned: *Schaira vero voluit libenter interficere Papam, sed fuit prohibitus per aliquos in tantum quod malum in corpore Papa non recepit.* The account from the MS. of Vienne: *Et dom. Papa non fuit ligatus nec in ferris positus nec de hospicio suo ejectus, sed dict. D. G. de Nogareto custodiebat eum cum magna societate infra cameram suam.* Fictitious accounts were spread in foreign countries, as is clear from Knighton and Thomas of Walsingham.

[1] The cathedral of Anagni, nevertheless, still preserves splendid vestments, and some vessels and crosses of the time of Boniface VIII. See the old inventory in the *Ann. Arch. par Didron*, vol. xviii. p. 18 f. E. Molinier has edited the "Inventaire du trésor du S. Siège sous Bonif. VIII." (*Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, Paris, 1881 and 1884).

[2] Bull *Flagitiosum*, June 7, 1304. The citizens or priests of

During three days Boniface, refusing in his pain or suspicion all nourishment, remained under the swords of his enemies, who seemed uncertain what to do, since their prisoner, contemptuous of death, refused to yield to their demands. Soon after followed a sudden change in his favour. On the news of the occurrence the friends of the Gætani in the Campagna seized their arms, while the barons of Latium, who had been oppressed by the Pope and his nephews, tried to reoccupy the districts which they had sold. The conspirators had not been able to win the city of Rome to their side, although it was filled with tumult indescribable, and thoughtful citizens were sensible of the insult suffered by the Pope. On Monday, September 10, Cardinal Luca Fieschi appeared at Anagni, rode through the streets, and summoned the already repentant people to avenge the outrage. He was answered with the cry, "Death to the traitors," and the same crowd which had so shamefully deserted Boniface, now, burning with indignation, stormed the palace where he sat imprisoned. The French banner was torn down, the prisoners were set free. Nogaret and Sciarra escaped to Ferentino.

Release of the Pope.

The Pope, released when too late, addressed the people from the steps of the palace. In a moment of magnanimous emotion, he forgave all who had ill-treated him. He left his ungrateful birthplace on Friday, September 14, escorted by armed men, to

Anagni later ascribed the decline of their city to this outrage, and even in 1526 sought to make solemn expiation through the Pope. See what Leandro Alberti says concerning this: Tosti, ii. 242.

betake himself to Rome. It is said that the Colonna attempted an attack on the way, but were repulsed.[1] Rome sent aid, although, if only four hundred horsemen came to meet Boniface, we may see how lukewarm was the feeling in the city. Cardinal Matthew and Jacopo Orsini led the band, less perhaps with the object of affording the Pope assistance, than of securing his person. The Orsini were now in power in Rome, where they also occupied the Senate.[2] As Boniface reached the city after a three days' journey, the people received him with signs of reverence; he spent the night in the Lateran, where

[1] The contemporary *Chron. Parmense*, Murat., ix. 848. Cardinal Stefaneschi (*Opus Metric.*, p. 659) speaks as an eye-witness :—

—rediens festinus in almam
Urbem, quippe sacram, miro circumdatus orbe,
Vallatusque armis. O mira potentia, tantis
Enodata malis! Numquam sic glorius armis,
Sic festus susceptus eâ. . . .

[2] In the last years of the Pope the Senators were almost exclusively Orsini. Wüstenfeld quotes for the year 1301 : *Johes Genazanus* (Colonna) and *Franc. Matthei de fil. Ursi* (Marg. Corn.). On June 2, 1302 : *Jacobus D. Napoleonis et Matheus D. Rainaldi de filiis Ursi* (vol. lxi. p. 115, *delle Deliberazioni*, Archives of Siena). Papencordt, p. 335, on the strength of Gigli and Vitale, wrongly appeals to these archives for the year 1300. I have copied the document myself at Siena. His statements with reference to 1301 and the so-called vicars of 1302 have also only been taken from the Capitoline register, which is full of mistakes. The statement in Olivieri, that Stephen Colonna was Senator in 1302, is arbitrary. On January 19, 1303, Guido de Pileo confirms, as Senator of the city, the Statutes of the Merchants ; he also appears on April 17, 1303, as *D. Pape nepos alme urbis Sen.* (*Cod. Vat.*, 7931. Document from S. Maria in Via Lata). On June 21, 1303, Tebaldo di Matteo Orsini and Alessio di Giacomo di Bonaventura were Senators (Vitale). And they may have been Senators when the catastrophe took place at Anagni.

he remained two days, and then advanced in procession to S. Peter's, where the old man in despair shut himself up in the chambers of the Vatican.[1]

Desperate position of the Pope in the Vatican.

His excitement approached frenzy. Revenge was his fixed idea. He would summon a great Council to crush King Philip, as Innocent IV. by a Council had formerly crushed Frederick II. Nevertheless, after his humiliation he was merely a phantom whom no one feared. He surveyed those who surrounded him with growing distrust; if he was forced to pardon Cardinal Napoleon, who was pointed out as one of the conspirators, his forgiveness only shows that he had lost his freedom. The Orsini kept watch over him with the eyes of an Argus, and began to dictate laws to him. They kept S. Angelo, as well as the Borgo, filled with armed men. They either feared excesses from the Pope's despair, or were so ungrateful as to extract profit from his misfortunes. The city was in a state of wild excitement, and divided into parties for and against the Pope, for and against the Orsini and Colonna. The Senators, incapable of maintaining order, resigned their office into the hands of the people.[2] Boniface summoned Charles of Naples to his aid; the Orsini,

[1] According to the account *de horribili insult.* also, the journey of the Pope from Anagni to Rome lasted from Friday until Tuesday. He must have encamped at night on the field under arms, or in country houses, since the towns of Paliano, Genazzano, and Palestrina all adhered to the Colonna.

[2] Account *de horribili insult.*, p. 519. The enemies of the Gætani in Rome and the surrounding district had risen immediately after the attempt: *omnis pop. Rome et tocius Campanie se revelavit contra Papam, et major pars terre et castra que Papa emerat marchisio* (*sic!*) *se revelaverunt.* . . . Manuscript of Vienne.

however, suppressed his letters. He desired to go to the Lateran, a quarter of the city ruled by the Anibaldi, a family who hated the Orsini and had no love for the Colonna. He was forbidden to leave the Vatican, and now recognised that he was a prisoner in the hands of the Orsini.

The days which the unfortunate Pope passed in the Vatican were beyond measure terrible. Frantic bitterness on account of his ill-treatment, and feelings of powerlessness, suspicion, fear, revenge and friendless loneliness tortured his passionate spirit. The spectre from the tower of Fumone stood before his excited imagination in these dark hours.[1] If, in the shock of the reaction of his circumstances, the mind of so high-spirited a man broke its bounds and became the victim of delusions, it was but natural. It was reported that he shut himself up in his room, refused food, beat his head in frenzy against the wall, and was at last found dead upon his bed.[2] The enemies of Boniface VIII. took pleasure in painting his death in the darkest colours, and even moderate opponents saw in his fall the judgment of God on the arrogance of the mighty.[3] A papal historian,

[1] The prophecy concerning Boniface VIII., which is put into the mouth of Celestine V., is well known: *intrabit ut vulpis, regnabit ut leo, morietur ut canis* (*Istorie Pistolesi*, Muratori, xi. 528).

[2] Contemporaries record this, as well as legend: Villani, Fr. Pipin, Ferretus: *diabolico correptus a spiritu caput muro sævus incussit; Chron. Estense*, Murat., xv. 350; Paolino di Piero, p. 64; even Antonino, iii. 259. That Boniface tore his own flesh was disproved by the fact that his body (uncovered in 1605) was found uninjured. Official account in Raynald, A. 1303, n. 44. His countenance was majestic even in death.

[3] *Aurumque nimis sitiens aurum perdidit et thesaurum, ut ejus*

who was probably in Rome at the time of Boniface's death, says, "He died on the thirty-fifth day of his imprisonment; he was out of his mind; he believed that every one who came near him would take him to prison." The simple words reveal a juster measure of truth than the more dramatic descriptions of other narrators.[1] Boniface VIII. died, eighty-six years old, on October 11, 1303, and was buried in a chapel which he himself had built in a crypt of the Vatican.

Death of Boniface VIII., Oct. 11, 1303.

Seldom has a pope had so many enemies, so few friends; seldom have contemporaries and after generations disputed more violently over his character. If judgment has been coloured by party passion, the opinion on the whole, nevertheless, remains fixed that Boniface VIII. was a highly-gifted man of despotic nature. He was devoid of every spiritual virtue, was of passionate temper, violent, faithless, unscrupulous, unforgiving, filled with ambition and lust of worldly power. His contemporaries already called him "the great-hearted sinner,"[2] and he cannot be more fittingly described.

exemplo discant superiores Prælati non superbe dominari in Clero et Populo (Bernard Guidonis; Murat., iii. i. 672).

[1] Ptol. Luc., *Hist. Eccl.*, xxiv. c. 36, and better, Jordan, *Cod. Vat.*, 1960, fol. 261: *decessit ex tremore cordis, et ab omni superveniente putabat capi, et ideo in eor. oculos et facies manus injicere cupiebat.* See also *Chron. Nicol. Triveti* in D'Achery, *Spicil.*, iii. 229. Bernard Guidonis (Murat., iii. i. 672) simply says: *in lecto doloris et amaritudinis positus, inter angustias spiritus, cum esset corde magnanimus, obiit Romæ V. Id. Oct.* According to Stefaneschi, who was probably present in the Vatican, he died after having confessed, and his defenders declared in Avignon: *in morte confessus fuit coram octo Cardinalib.* (*Preuves de l'hist.*, p. 402).

[2] *Magnanimus peccator:* Benev. da Imola (Murat., *Antiq.*, i. 1039)

The spirit of the age overthrew him as it had overthrown Frederick II. He strove after a goal which had already become fantastic; he was the last pope who boldly conceived the thought of an all-ruling hierarchy, as Gregory VII., and Innocent III. had conceived it. Boniface VIII., however, was only an unfortunate reminiscence of these popes. He was a man who achieved nothing great, whose high-aimed endeavours excited, instead of admiration, merely an ironical smile. He could not maintain himself at the summit of the Papacy. The scene in Anagni, so narrow and petty as compared with the earlier struggles of the Church against the empire, is in the history of the popes a battlefield, such as that of Benevento or Tagliacozzo, where with insignificant means and amid insignificant circumstances the result of tedious trials was decided. The tomb of Boniface VIII. is the gravestone of the mediæval Papacy, which was buried with him by the forces of the age. We may still see the monument in the crypt of the Vatican, where the stone figure of the Pope lies on the sarcophagus, the two-fold tiara on his head, with strong and handsome countenance and royal mien.

adopted this epithet from others. Dante, with respectful hatred, calls him: *il gran Prete*. See Villani's judgment, c. 64. Mansi justly says: *ingentes animi dotes in pontificatum contulit, quamq. sæculari principatui potius, quam ecclesiastico potiores* (note to Raynald, 1303, p. 356). The opinions of Schlosser, Neander, and Drumann are not free from exaggeration.

4. Benedict XI., Pope—His desperate position—He revokes the Decrees of his Predecessor—Gentile Orsini and Luca Savelli, Senators—The Colonna restored—Benedict XI. institutes proceedings against the Perpetrators of the Outrage at Anagni, and dies 1304—Prolonged Contest concerning the Election—War of revenge waged by the Gætani in the Campagna—Clement V., Pope—The Sacred Chair detained in France.

The cardinals gathered round the bier of Boniface VIII. Although they may have hated him while living, they were left troubled and dismayed by the fall of the papal power which was expressed in his death. The city was in arms. The friends of the Colonna looked defiance at the Orsini, and the attitude of the parties was altered by a stroke. Neapolitans entered by the Porta Maggiore, for Charles II., summoned by recent events, came with his sons Robert and Philip and with a military force, and arrived on the very day of Boniface's death.[1] Even Frederick of Sicily, hearing of the Pope's distress, sent ships to Ostia. The King of Naples wished to rule the new election. The cardinals meanwhile assembled in S. Peter's, and without any contest elected the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia Pope as early as October 22. He ascended the sacred chair on November 1.

Charles II. enters Rome, 1303.

The short reign of Benedict XI. awakens the

[1] Ptol. Lucensis, Murat., xi. 1224.

greatest interest, forming, as it does, the connecting link with the period of Avignon. Had Benedict's gentle personality but borne the impress of calm strength instead of weak timidity, he would have presented, standing as peacemaker beside Boniface VIII., as striking a contrast as Gregory X. beside Clement IV. Nicholas Boccasini, son of a notary in Treviso, had in his youth been tutor in a noble Venetian family, had then become a Dominican, and had risen in the Church by his learning and virtues. Boniface VIII. himself had made him a cardinal, and we have seen him, faithful to his duty, remain by the side of his benefactor when the other cardinals deserted him.[1] What was the new Pope to do in such a desperate position? Should he take the weapon from the cold hand of his predecessor to hurl it against his victorious enemy? The people—as Sicily and France had shown—already despised the spiritual sword; the thunderbolts of the Lateran no longer took effect. The outrage at Anagni and the slight impression it had produced in Italy revealed the startling truth, that all the Guelf foundations of the papal power had crumbled, that it had lost its hold on the Italian people. The Papacy, which had been able to destroy the imperial power, had alienated Italy, and stood, so to say, in air. The helpless loneliness of Benedict XI. in these days of disillusion must indeed have been terrible.

Benedict XI., 1303–1304.

[1] He himself speaks of the vicissitudes of his life in his first encyclical: *timor et tremor nos vehementur invadunt, dum revolvimus quot et quantas immutationes receperit hactenus status noster, qui ab olim ordinem fratrum Prædicator. professi, putabamus abjecti esse in domo Domini—dat Lateran,* November 1, 1303 (Raynald, n. 47).

Face to face with the King of France, he found himself without allies and defenceless. The German empire no longer possessed the power, and still less the will, to re-erect the enfeebled Papacy by force of arms. For the first time every class of an entire nation had risen against the demands of a pope, and this resistance was invincible. Benedict XI. was unable to do more than beat a retreat. It was he, not Boniface VIII., who acknowledged the Papacy defeated by the secular power. It capitulated like a fortress taken by assault. The change in the times is striking, as is the sight of the true greatness which perished with it. Benedict, indeed, was forced to do something to punish the insult which had been suffered by the Church, but he did it ineffectively and with hesitation. He instituted a trial of the robbers of the treasury of the Church at Anagni, and demanded the restitution of the spoil. We do not know whether his efforts were successful.[1] The Colonna faction, many of whom had already returned in triumph to the city, demanded reparation of the wrongs done them by Boniface; the Pope released them—with the exception of Sciarra—from the ban on December 23, restored them their family property, and gave them back Palestrina, although with the

He releases the Colonna from the ban, Dec. 1303.

[1] Bull of November 6, 1303, in Theiner, i. n. 573, and a second of December 7, 1303, in Raynald, n. 57, and Theiner, i. 574. The King of Naples also brought a suit against the criminals, more especially against his vassal Peter de Luparia, *quod interfuit et operam dedit captioni b. m. Bonif. et direptioni thesauri ac mandavit occidi per primogenitum suum Magistrum Gregorium Strigonensem electum* —further against Raynald of Supino. C. M. Riccio, *Studj storici fatti sopra* 84 *registri Angiovini*, Naples, 1876, p. 102 f.

prohibition that they were not to rebuild the town without his permission. Cardinals Jacopo and Peter returned from their concealment in Perugia and Padua, requested the restoration of their dignities, and, on the Pope's refusal, again turned for protection to the King of France.

Philip on his part obtained the revocation of the decrees of Boniface VIII.; and Benedict was even forced to forestall his desires. The King, who denied his share in the outrage at Anagni, imposed the conditions of a conqueror on the conquered. Instead of the Pope continuing the case against him, Philip threatened to prosecute it against the dead Boniface; the voice of France desired a Council as well as the condemnation of all the acts of the late Pope, and Benedict yielded before an evident defeat, in that, without waiting for Philip's embassy, he revoked all the sentences which Boniface had pronounced against the royal house and against France. The bulls of May 13, 1304, in which he abrogated the acts of his predecessors, in order to reconcile France with the Church, were virtually the death-warrants of the political Papacy. They denote its retreat from its all-dominant position, and the turning-point in its history.[1] A singular destiny seemed to avenge Celestine V. on Boniface VIII.; the latter had died a prisoner like the former, and his successors cancelled his decrees as he had formerly cancelled those

He revokes the bull of Boniface VIII. against France, May 13, 1304.

[1] The first absolution was probably pronounced at Easter in Rome (Mansi to Raynald in 1304, p. 376); then followed the bulls of absolution from Perugia, May 13, 1304, *Cum sicut accepimus* and *ad statum tuum*. Benedict also modified the bull *Clericis Laicos*.

of Celestine. Benedict XI. even abrogated the Constitutions which his predecessor had issued for the protection of civic liberties, and therein showed himself as small-minded as Boniface had been magnanimous.[1]

Gentile Orsini and Luca Savelli, Senators, 1304.

Benedict XI., harassed by the factions of Gætani and Colonna, and ruled by the Orsini, did not enjoy a single tranquil moment in Rome. Scarcely were the Colonna reinstated in their civic rights, when they appeared demanding indemnity on the Capitol, where Gentile Orsini and Luca Savelli were Senators.[2] Benedict, feared by none and afraid of all, wished to fix his seat somewhere in safety; he left Rome after Easter, and went to Montefiascone, to Orvieto, to Perugia. Only here, in the capital of Guelf Umbria, did he find courage to institute proceedings against all who had borne a share in the attack at Anagni. He pronounced the ban on Nogaret, on Raynald of Supino, on Sciarra Colonna, and on a number of others, and cited them to appear before his tribunal.[3] His conduct provoked an outbreak among the guilty, who believed that their crime had been buried with Boniface. Philip le Bel, whom the

[1] I have already noticed the suspension of the Statutes for the March; on February 1, 1304, Benedict XI. also annulled the Privilegia for Spoleto (Theiner, i. n. 578). With monkish solicitude he clung to the *jura Ecclesiæ* as opposed to the communes, but surrendered the great position of the Church as opposed to the monarchies.

[2] Petrini, pp. 153, 429. Concerning the two Senators A. 1304, Vitale, p. 207, and Benedict's letter from the Lateran, March 16, 1304 (Theiner, i. n. 580), addressed to *Gentilis de Filiis Ursi Senator Urbis*, in which *Lucas de Sabello* is mentioned as his co-Senator.

[3] Bull *Flagitiosum scelus*, Perugia, June 7, 1304. Raynald, n. 13.

voice of the world and the dislike of Benedict silently or in public designated as the author of the Pope's fall, was also included in the bull. On June 7 Benedict published the decree; at the beginning of July he was dead. Rumour asserted that he had been poisoned with a plate of figs, but the statement is assuredly an invention.[1] Benedict XI., divided between the difficulty of saving the Church by compliance, and of defending its honour at the same time, died in Perugia, the last Italian pope before a series of Frenchmen. Behind his grave lies Avignon.

Death of Benedict XI., July 7, 1304.

The cardinals, heedless of the decree of Gregory X., assembled, as early as July 10, in the archiepiscopal palace at Perugia for the most difficult of elections. It remained in dispute for nearly a year. Two parties divided the college: the Italian under Matthew Orsini and Francesco Gætani, the French under Napoleon Orsini and Nicholas of Prato.[2] Napoleon was one of the most influential men in the Church, and was of unbounded wealth; he was the son of Rinaldo, grandson of the celebrated Senator, Matthew Rubeus, and had been cardinal since 1288. He had long since announced his Ghibelline sympathies, and it had even been reported that, in concert with the French Cardinal Le Moine, he had given the unfortunate Benedict a dose of poison.[3] Behind

[1] Ferretus says it in plain words, p. 1013. He gives the Pope fifty-six years. Villani, viii. 80. The *Annals of Perugia*, however, write: *à di 7 Luglio* 1304 *passò di questa vita di morte naturale* (*Archiv. Storico*, xvi. i. 60).

[2] This situation is described by Carl Wenck, *Clemens V. und Heinrich VII., die Anfänge des franz. Papsttums*, 1882, p. 211.

[3] His father Rinaldo was the founder of the branch of the Orsini-

this conclave in the background stood King Philip, anxious to procure the elevation of a pope who would prove subservient to his will. While the cardinals quarrelled in Perugia, Rome and Latium were filled with furious party strife. The relations of Boniface VIII. marched about the Campagna with Catalan mercenaries, carrying on a war of revenge against the barons who had been accessory to the death of their uncle.[1] The Colonna fought at the same time against them and the Orsini, a family which had been placed in possession of many of their estates. They repeatedly appeared to complain before the Senate, which decreed that the Colonna should be reinstated in their property, since their persecution had been the work of the hatred and malevolence of Boniface VIII. It annulled all investitures with the estates of the Colonna, which had been made by the Pope, and condemned Peter Gætani and his sons to pay an indemnity of one hundred thousand gold florins.[2] The Gætani, however, defended themselves like brave men. The nephews remained powerful

War between the Colonna, Orsini, and Gætani in Latium.

Monterotondo, which became extinct in the seventeenth century. Several documents in the Gætani Archives show that this wealthy cardinal acquired cities and fortresses, especially in Tuscany. He died on March 23, 1342. Concerning him, see Garampi, *B. Chiara*, Diss. xii.

[1] S. Antonino, iii. 259. *Domarono quasi tutta campagna e terra di Roma:* Villani, viii. c. 64; and he says that if Boniface had seen how brave his nephews were, *di certo gli avrebbe fatti re o gran signori.*

[2] Petrini, *Mon.*, 32, and the decree of the Roman people in the *Preuves*, pp. 278–282; by which the *reaffidatio* is given to the Colonna with the severest censures on the wickedness of Boniface VIII. At the same time, the Senate demanded the surrender of Nepi to the civic camera, by means of which the Colonna had acquired it.

even after the death of their uncle; they held the Torre delle Milizie in the city, the strong mausoleum of Cecilia Metella outside the Appian Gate; their vassals stood in arms in nineteen fortresses of Latium, and in several castles near Viterbo and in the Patrimony. They had large fiefs in Tuscany; the counties of Caserta and Fundi with thirty-two fortresses in the kingdom of Naples. The vendetta between the Gætani and Colonna consequently raged for years, until King Robert of Naples established peace between them.[1]

Meanwhile a compromise was effected in Perugia; while the cardinals of Italian sympathies put forward three candidates from the other side of the mountains, the French faction was to elect one of them pope within forty days. Three Frenchmen, adherents of Boniface VIII. and opponents of Philip, appeared on the lists for election, upon which the French party secretly informed the King that they would elect Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux. The King hastened to search him out and came to an understanding with the ambitious prelate. The cardinals proclaimed Bertrand Pope on June 5.[2] It

Conclave in Perugia.

[1] Document of Naples, March 24, 1327, in the Gætani Archives. The King, being chosen arbitrator, decides that Loffred of Fundi, the Count-Palatine Benedict, and the prelate Francis were to pay the Colonna in three years *quilibet pro eor. rata supradicto Stephano ac filiis et hered. ejus tam clericis quam laicis . . . florenor. tria millia.* The sons of Matthew were also to be restored in Anagni.

[2] This is the description of the election given by Villani, which Antonino follows. It, as well as the six conditions imposed by Philip, have been doubted. That the King had something to say in the matter is beyond a doubt. His envoys were in Perugia. Wenk, p. 26 f.

is uncertain whether the electors imposed the condition of coming to Italy on the candidate. No one perhaps as yet imagined that the elevation of a Frenchman was synonymous with the extradition of the Papacy to France.[1]

Bertrand de Got was the son of a nobleman from Villandraut in Gascony. He had studied at Orleans and Bologna, and had been made Archbishop of Bordeaux by Boniface VIII. in 1299. This city, however, having made subjection to the King of England in 1303, its archbishop did not stand in direct dependence on the French monarch. This fact and Bertrand's previous independence towards Philip, in spite of whose prohibition to all the French prelates he had gone to attend the October Council of 1302, may have had some influence on the electors. They deceived themselves, however, for Bertrand had assumed a friendly attitude towards the French king, and, anxious for the Papacy, had yielded entirely to the will of Philip, who alone could insure him possession of the tiara.

Instead of hastening to Rome, the Pope-elect summoned the electors to France. They were astounded at the demand. The outwitted Matthew Orsini foreboded that the sacred chair would long remain in France. On September 4, 1305, he died at Perugia. On November 14, 1305, Bertrand, in presence of the King, of Charles of Valois, of Duke John of Brittany, and of many French nobles, was crowned as Pope Clement V. in S. Just at Lyons. A singular misfortune happened on the coronation

Clement V., Pope, 1305-1314.

[1] Wenk, *l.c.*, p. 28, believes that Bertrand gave this promise.

procession. A wall fell on the Pope and he was thrown from his horse; his crown rolled in the dust, a splendid carbuncle, its most precious ornament, was lost; twelve barons of the Pope's retinue were crushed, Valois was seriously injured, and the Duke of Brittany died of his wounds. The populace foretold disaster and evil times.

The boldest dreams of the French monarch were now attained. A willing Pope, on whom he himself had bestowed the tiara, a Frenchman, was within two years installed in France as successor of the ill-used Boniface. There he held him fast. Thus was avenged on Rome and Italy the insult perpetrated by his own countrymen on Boniface VIII. The position of the Papacy was shaken and robbed of every support. It was no longer protected by any German emperor; his place was taken by the French king, into whose arms the Pope was obliged to throw himself. Clement V. made his abode alternately in Lyons and Bordeaux, and then withdrew to Avignon, where the popes long remained, while Rome, deprived of both emperor and pope, sank amid the ruins of her two-fold greatness into the most abject misery.

CHAPTER VII.

1. Learned Popes and Cardinals — Absence of Culture in Rome—No University in the City —School of the Papal Palace—Innocent IV. orders the foundation of a School of Law— The collections of Decretals—Prevalence of the Study of Law in the Thirteenth Century —Statutes of the Communes — Charles of Anjou commands a University to be founded in Rome—Urban IV.—Thomas of Aquino— Bonaventura—Roman Professors in Paris— Boniface VIII. the true Founder of the Roman University.

In the thirteenth century knowledge triumphed over barbarism and already assumed an imposing form. Mankind has seldom waged so fierce a struggle to obtain high possessions, seldom accomplished a more serious intellectual work. Italy received a new impulse. Amid the din of arms, and amid political revolutions of almost daily occurrence, jurists, philosophers, poets, and artists assembled numerous pupils around them. The achievements of the intellect of the thirteenth century had already taken form in works of lasting value, compiled either during its course or in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The series is marked by the code of Frederick II., by the statutes of the cities, the

collections of papal decretals, the works of the great priests, Accursius, Odofredus, and William Durante, the *Summa* of the schoolman Thomas of Aquinas, the *Chronicle* of Giovanni Villani, the works of Cimabue and Giotto, finally the immortal poem of Dante, the true monument of the entire spiritual progress of the thirteenth century.

A reflex of the movement also fell on the city of Rome, although the capital of the world, for reasons with which we are acquainted, remained almost entirely unproductive. Of the eighteen popes who had reigned between 1198 and 1303, the greater number were learned men, and no less educated were the cardinals. The advance of the age required on the papal throne instead of saints men of learning, more especially men learned in law; knowledge of law being the first qualification of a ruler, no less on the throne of Peter, than on the chair of the communal palace. Innocent III., Honorius III., Gregory IX., Innocent IV., Urban IV., John XXI., Nicholas IV., and Boniface VIII. would have been prominent in any circumstances by reason of their learning; it is consequently natural that they exercised some influence on the intellectual culture of their time. Innocent III. began his career with literary activity and we still possess his memorable little pamphlet concerning *The contempt of the world*, a sad work which reveals a religious rather than a philosophic mind, in which the author pays his tribute to the monastic tendencies of the age, but never again allows them to thwart his ambitious and domineering will.[1]

[1] *De Contemptu Mundi, sive de miseria conditionis humanæ, libri*

Rome, in truth, was not the source from which popes and cardinals imbibed their culture. The capital of Christendom remained as hitherto behind smaller cities in intellectual life; its people were condemned to live amid its ruins in disgraceful ignorance. In the thirteenth century it owned no learned school. Noble Romans sent their sons to Paris, where they studied scholastics and acquired the degree of Magister. From Paris they generally went to Bologna, at that time the greatest school of law in Europe. Thither students flocked from every country, frequently to the number of ten thousand, to attend the lectures of an Azzo, an Accursius, an Odofredus, or a Dino. To this illustrious school the popes even sent their collections of decretals, Frederick II. his laws, not only with the object of making them known to the world, but in order that they might receive the seal of learning. After 1222 Padua also acquired renown, after 1224 Naples. Universities were also founded in other cities, either permanently or for the time, according as political revolutions, quarrels, or jealousies drove celebrated teachers into exile. Rome alone had no university. True, the popes resisted the foundation of such an institution, since the increase of cultivation, as well as the excitement consequent on the concourse of young men in their capital, would have been dangerous to their rule. At least the step-mother-like treatment of Rome cannot be sufficiently explained by local causes, or by lack of intellectual impulse,—for

Bologna as a school of law.

tres, Lugduni, 1561. Innocent III. wrote this treatise when cardinal.

numerous Romans studied in foreign countries,—or by the fever-stricken desertion of the city, since in spite of the malaria numerous foreigners sojourned throughout the entire year in Rome, the common city of all nations.

We hear nothing of libraries; not even of the ancient library in the Lateran, where no librarian is even mentioned by name in the first half of the thirteenth century.[1] Innocent III. encouraged Paris and Bologna by privilegia, but founded no school in his own native city. At the Council of 1215 he merely issued in general terms the law that professorial chairs should be established, and Honorius III. ordered that the chapters should send young men to the universities. This cultured pope deposed a bishop who had not read Donatus, but his revival of the papal palace schools for scholastic theology by no means suffices to make him rank as a promoter of learning in Rome.[2]

To Romans study in foreign countries involved a great outlay of money and time, especially when they only desired to acquire the ordinary degrees of learning. The absence of a school of their own, for both civil and canon law, was the more acutely felt,

[1] Cardinals founded private libraries; thus Matthew of Aquasparta, whose library came to Todi, where I have seen a portion of it lying thick in dust, in the Archives of S. Fortunatus.

[2] *Schola Sacri Palatii;* he appointed Dominic as the first magister. This palace-professorship continued to exist from this time forth. John Carafa, *De Gymnasio Romano*, Rome, 1751, p. 134; Renazzi, *Storia dell' Univ. degli studj di Roma* (Rome, 1803), shows that this *Studium Curiæ* is to be held entirely separate from the *Studium Urbis*, the later university of Rome.

the more jurists were required by the Curia and the civil tribunals. Innocent IV. (who had himself probably been a professor at Bologna) was finally compelled to sanction the foundation of a public school of law, although only in connection with the school of the papal palace. He gave this institution the privileges of a university, and thus a meagre phantom of the great schools of law of Ulpian and Papinian again arose in Rome.[1] The popes were chiefly solicitous with regard to law. After the time of Innocent III., the Roman Curia had united all ecclesiastic jurisdiction in itself, had drawn all decisions of any importance to Rome; Rome was the universal judicial tribunal for the Christian world. Papal justice decided endless trials and therefrom drew incalculable revenue. The supreme court of justice, the Ruota, was of European celebrity as early as the twelfth century. The necessity of collecting the Constitutions of the popes was now urgently felt, and thus arose the codex of ecclesiastical law, the celebrated and notorious product of Roman jurisprudence in the Middle Ages.

First school of law in Rome, 1243.

Besides the *Decretum* of Gratian, the first collection of canon law in the twelfth century, there were in the time of Innocent III. three so-called collections of Decretals; Innocent added a fourth, Honorius III. a fifth, and Gregory IX. had these five books compiled into a complete codex by the Spanish Dominican, Raymund da Pennafort, whom he summoned to Rome. He published his codex in 1234, and in 1298 Boniface VIII. added a sixth

The collection of Decretals of Gregory IX.

[1] Bull of the Pope of 1243, in Carafa, p. 131.

book, to which Dino da Mugello from Bologna lent his assistance.[1] The redaction of the fundamental codex of the Church consequently belongs to the time when the Church herself had attained the summit of her power. She thereby gave an indisputable foundation to her monarchical authority, in the same way as her code of law had completed the gigantic structure of ancient imperial Rome. In these Decretals wise laws were mingled with inventions and falsifications, which have only now been laid bare by modern criticism. Canon law occupied the world in equal measure with the Justinian Code. It found numerous commentators. To acquire a knowledge of its contents was the foremost aim of the clergy, because it was the surest way to the dignity of cardinal and to the Papacy itself. It was necessary that the legates, the rectors of the State of the Church, should be distinguished jurisconsults. The Provençal William Durante, who was entirely educated in Italy, who was professor of law in Bologna and Modena and obtained a world-wide celebrity as compiler of the *Speculum*, owed it solely to his acquaintance with this branch of learning that Boniface VIII. made him Count of the Romagna.

The science of law was entirely in accord with the realistic spirit of the Italians. It was their hereditary possession since Roman times, and their daily requirement in all civic, ecclesiastical, and personal relations. It was to their rights as Roman emperors that German kings, whose courts were filled with a crowd of jurisconsults, traced the legitimacy of their

[1] Sarti, *De claris. Archigym. Bonon. Prof.*, p. 256 *sq.*

power as Cæsars. From ecclesiastical law the popes derived their universal power, and their Curia swarmed to overflowing with jurists. The struggles between Church and empire were struggles of law against law. The foremost champions of Frederick II., who delivered Sicily from papal rule by means of a legal code, were his learned judges, and when the jurist Roffred of Benevento quitted the emperor's service it was equivalent to a papal victory. The national monarchy fought against the Papacy with the weapons of lawyers; the jurisconsults of Philip le Bel were his instruments in the overthrow of Boniface VIII., and the theocratic power of the Roman Church was finally defeated by the civil law.

The Statutes of the communes.

While popes and kings collected laws, the republics were no less active. The secretaries of the commune copied the edicts of the magistrates; their actuaries recorded the minutes of each meeting of the Council on books made of cotton paper; their *statutarii* collected the communal decrees in the form of a book and deposited them in the archives of the Palazzo Communale. Each republic owned its state papers, and frequently kept them more carefully than kings did theirs. The remains of Italian archives fill students of the present day with respect for the practical as well as the statesmanlike genius of city life, in an age when nothing similar was found throughout the rest of Europe. The oldest communal statutes, such as those of Pistoja, Genoa and Pisa, belong to the twelfth century; the development of the civic constitutions, however, falls in the first

half of the thirteenth century, and is prolonged until the fifteenth. There was scarcely a fortress that did not possess its statutes neatly written on parchment. Milan, Ferrara, Modena, Verona, and other cities of Lombardy edited them in the first thirty years of the thirteenth century; Venice reformed her code under the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo in 1248; Bologna published hers in 1250. The painstaking learning of present times collects, edits, and comments on these monuments of free and illustrious municipalities, but it has not, unfortunately, been able to add to them the oldest statutes of Rome.[1] After the restoration of the Senate, the presidents of the Capitoline commune, according as necessity required, made and issued individual laws, but we are not informed whether these were codified, as was the case in the cities of Northern Italy. Not until 1877 was begun the work of examining this important factor of the communal life of the Middle Ages in Rome. But the oldest book of Roman statutes has not been discovered. The codices, with which we have been hitherto acquainted, are later redactions, the writing of which is not of older date than the beginning of the fifteenth century.[2]

[1] One of the greatest publications of this kind is that of the *Statuti di Bologna*, which has been edited by Luigi Frati since 1869.

[2] The most recent researches began with a work by Vito La Mantia, *Statuti di Roma*, Rome, 1877, which was followed by the same jurist's *Origini e vicende degli statuti di Roma*, Firenze, 1879. Camillo Re then edited the *Statuti della Città di Roma del sec. XIV.* (Rome, 1889). The most important Codices are the *Ottobon.*, n. 1880, written in the beginning of the fifteenth century; *Ottobon.*, 741, written 1413; *Cod. Vat.*, 7308 (less valuable), and finally the Cod. of

Even in 1265 the city of Rome did not possess a public school of law, still less a university. The decree of Innocent IV. had merely reference to the school of the palace, which accompanied the popes wherever they established their abode. Had not this been the case, Charles of Anjou would have appealed to the ordinance of this pope. The tyrant of Sicily appears in an unexpectedly human character, as the founder of a university (*studium generale*) in Rome. In gratitude for his appointment as Senator, he declared in an edict on October 14, 1265, that he had resolved to adorn Rome, the Mistress of the World, with a "Universal School" for the study of both civil and canon law and for the liberal arts, and to bestow upon it all the privileges of a university.[1] But since the Angevin foundation was intended as a *Studium Urbis*, it found no support in the decree of Innocent IV. It received encouragement, however, in the friendly exertions of Urban IV., a man who furthered learning, and who was the first pope with any knowledge of Pagan philosophy. He had made the then celebrated mathematician Campanus of Novara his chaplain, had encouraged him in his studies, and had accepted the dedication of his astronomical treatises. He surrounded himself with learned men and listened

Charles of Anjou orders the foundation of a Roman university, 1265.

the *Archiv. segreto* in the Vatican, written in 1438. The oldest original Statute, written on parchment in the year 1469, is in the Archives of the Capitol.

[1] *Generale in ipsa studium tam utriusque juris quam artium duximus statuendum.—Dat. Rome per man. Roberti de Baro Magne R. Curie nostre protonotarii.* This document was first edited by Del Giudice, *Cod. Dipl.*, n. xxiv.

to their conversation.[1] He summoned Thomas of Aquinas to Rome, and ordered him to explain the writings of Aristotle, which had already been translated from Greek and Arabic into Latin in the twelfth century, and the study of which had been encouraged by Frederick II. Thomas, a descendant of the ancient family of the Lombard counts of Aquino, a Dominican, educated in Paris, a pupil of Albertus Magnus in Cologne, forsook his professor's chair in Paris and came to Rome in 1261.[2] The great schoolman taught philosophy and morals in the schools of the palace until 1269, now in Rome, and now in the cities where the popes held their court. For two years he laboured again in Paris, but in 1271 returned to Rome, although only for a short time, since Charles I. summoned him to Naples. The gifted man died as early as 1274, in the monastery of Fossanova, and soon afterwards the great mystic Bonaventura of Bagnorea, the pride of the Minorites, whose general he was, and the celebrated commentator on the *Magister Sententiarum*, also died in Lyons. He had long taught in Paris, and may have occasionally given lectures in Rome.

Thomas of Aquino teaches in Rome.

Thomas soon recognised that there was no soil for scholasticism in Rome. The city had never been

[1] *De pulvere, Pater, Philosophiam erigitis, que lugere solet in sue mendicitatis inopia, nostrorum Presulum auxiliis destituta;* thus writes Campanus to the Pope: Tiraboschi, iv. 147.

[2] *Tenuit studium Romæ, quasi totam Philosophiam, sive Moralem, sive Naturalem exposuit.*—Ptol. Luc., xxii. c. 24. At the instigation of Thomas, William von Moerbeke, who died in 1281 as Archbishop of Corinth, translated the whole of Aristotle into Latin. Oncken, *Die Staatslehre des Aristoteles*, Leipzig, 1870, i. 70.

the home of philosophy; abstract thought was foreign to men of legal mind and of practical inclination; scholasticism was a subject of only temporary interest in Italy. The great speculative geniuses to whom the country gave birth wandered to Paris; thus Peter Lombard in the twelfth century, and Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura in the thirteenth. Even gifted Romans found no scope for their activities in Rome, but preferred instead to teach at foreign universities. Several Romans are found as teachers in the university of Paris; for instance, Anibaldo degli Anibaldi (1257–1260), Romano Orsini in 1271, further Egidius Colonna, and Jacopo Stefaneschi in the time of Boniface VIII.[1] No pope detained these men by him; no senator summoned them to the professorial chair in their native city. On the other hand, learned foreigners are found at the papal court, men engaged in the study of philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, and who translated Greek as well as Arabic works into Latin. William of Moerbeke (*Gulielmus de Morbeka*), a Dominican from Flanders, had studied Greek and also Arabic in Greece; he became chaplain and penitentiary of Clement IV., with whom he was in Viterbo in 1268. He accompanied Gregory X. to the Council in Lyons and went in 1278 as archbishop to Corinth, where he died about 1300. This great linguist faithfully translated into

[1] Anibaldus de Anibaldis, cardinal under Urban IV., was nephew of the celebrated Richard Anibaldi. *Scriptores Ordin. Prædicator.* (Quetif and Echard), i. 261; and Prospero Mandosius, *Bibl. Romana seu Romanor. Scriptor. Centuriæ*, Rome, 1862, i. 288. Concerning Romanus de Romano Orsini, see Echard, pp. 263, 272.

Latin the *Rhetoric* and *Politics*, and probably also many other works of Aristotle.[1] At his instance a Pole, of perhaps German ancestry, Witulo-Thuringo Polonus, with whom Moerbeke was on friendly terms in Rome, translated the work of an Arabian on optics into Latin.[2]

The "Studium" ordained by Charles I., if actually called into being, showed no sign of life, and after Urban IV. it did not occur to any pope to provide the capital of the world with a university. Not until the time of Boniface VIII. was founded the university of Rome, now called the Sapienza. This pope ordained a general course of studies for all faculties, and his bull shows that he created the institution entirely anew. He accorded professors and scholars their own jurisdiction, under rectors elected by themselves, exempted them from taxes, and gave them all the privileges of a university. The foundation of this institution, which was maintained by the commune from the rents of Tivoli and Rispampano, graces the memory of Boniface with lasting renown. He issued the bull of foundation at Anagni on June 6, 1303, a few months before his fall, and it forms his best

Boniface VIII. founds the Sapienza, 1303.

[1] E. Bursian, *Gesch. der class. Philol. in Deutsch..*, 1883, i. 79. The translation of the *Politics* is printed in Susemihl's larger edition, Leipzig, Teubner. F. Wüstenfeld, "Die Uebersetzungen arab. Werke in das Latein," *Gesell. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxii., 1877, p. 116. Simon of Genoa, physician to Nicholas IV., sub-deacon under Boniface VIII., wrote a work called *Synonyma medicinæ*, and translated two works from the Arabic. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

[2] F. Wüstenfeld, p. 111. It was the *Optica* of Abu Ali Muhammed Ibn el Hatchan. Alfredus Anglicus, appointed about 1270 to the

letter of farewell to Rome.[1] That the same pope took thought also for the neglected papal library, is shown by the Catalogue, compiled in 1295, found among the MSS. in the papal treasury.[2]

2. Writing of History—Rome without Historians, or Civic Annals—Absence of Mediæval Documents in the Capitoline Archives—Historiographers of the Popes and of the Church—Saba Malaspina—John Colonna—Egidius Colonna—His Treatise on *The Government of Princes*—The *Oculus Pastoralis*—The Poets—The Poetry of the Franciscans—Fra Jacopone—The Roman vulgar Tongue—Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, Poet and Mæcenas.

Historians.

Side by side with the study of law, the study of history received a momentous impulse in Italy. It flourished in Sicily under the Hohenstaufens, while in North and Central Italy chroniclers, either voluntarily or officially commissioned, penned the

domestic chapel of Cardinal Othobonus, translated Aristotle, *περὶ φυτῶν*, from the Arabic (p. 87). Ægidius de Tebaldis Parmenus translated an Arabic astrological work from the Spanish (p. 40).

[1] Bull *In supremæ*, *Dat. Anagn. A.* 1303 *VIII. Id. Junii* to the Abbot of S. Lorenzo, the Prior of *Sancta Sanctor.*, and the Archpriest of S. Eustachio (appendix to the *Statutes of Rome*, 1580). Renazzi believes that the university already had its seat near S. Eustachio. The salary of a professor at that time amounted, as a rule, to 100 gold florins.

[2] *Archiv für Literatur u. Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* by Denifle and Ehrle, i. vol. i. No. 1 (1885). The fate of the library of Boniface VIII. is unknown.

histories of their free cities. In Giovanni Villani, Florence produced the first historian who wrote in the language of Tuscany.[1]

Absence of Roman historians.

Amid such a wealth of historians, it is surprising to find that Rome could scarcely show one during the twelfth century. We find, to our astonishment, that we are obliged to resort to English chroniclers for the best information concerning the history of the city. Roger of Hoveden and Matthew Paris, like William of Malmesbury in earlier times, and William of Nangis in France, were better informed as to Roman affairs than Italian chroniclers themselves. The English, who then maintained active intercourse with Rome, already surveyed the world with a spirit of tranquil observation, while Italian history bore the stamp of the national disunion of the country, and remained, in consequence, little else than chronicles of cities. The Roman Senate did not even conceive the thought of entrusting a writer with the compilation of its annals as Genoa had done, nor did it ever occur to a Roman to write the history of his ancestral city, as Giovanni Villani wrote the history of Florence, and as other patriotically-minded citizens the histories of even smaller Italian communes.

[1] Faith in the authenticity of the other celebrated Florentine historian Dino Compagni has been shaken, on important grounds, by Scheffer-Boichhorst, who has irrefutably shown the spuriousness of Ricordano Malaspini. See his *Florentiner Studien*, Leipzig, 1874, ii. : *Die Chronik des Dino Compagni, eine Fälschung*. On the other hand, Del Lungo (*Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, Florence, 1879-80) brings forward convincing evidence as to the authenticity of the work.

The dearth of Roman annals, however, is explained by various causes. The task of compiling such annals was more difficult than that of the chronicles of any other city, the historic relations of Rome with the world compelling her to embrace a so much wider horizon. The republic of the Capitol possessed neither the energetic individuality nor the freedom of other cities. The civic historian of Rome could not write independently without coming into collision with the temporal Papacy. We shall therefore find that the beginnings of the civic annals of Rome belong to the period when the popes dwelt at Avignon. There is no chronicle of the city in the thirteenth century, nor can its absence be supplied by documents from the communal archives, since authorities of this kind are also lacking. While even the provincial towns of Umbria and the Patrimony, such as Viterbo and Todi, Perugia and Orvieto, even Narni and Terni, have preserved the important remains of deeds of their republican period, while regesta neatly written on parchments and the minutes of the sittings of Council (*libri deliberationum*) are found amongst their records, the Capitoline archives contain no documents of the kind, in which, nevertheless, they were once richer than any other city.

The *History of the Popes.*

Only in a small degree can the history of the city be supplemented from the *Lives of the Popes.* The papal writers could ignore it, but they treated it superficially and with decided hostility. The old official *Liber Pontificalis*, continued in the twelfth century by Peter Pisanus, Pandulf, by Cardinal

Boso, was frequently interrupted, and towards the end reveals many gaps. With Innocent III. begins a fresh, though interrupted, series of papal annals, or of biographies, which have been drawn from the official chancery, the acts of which have been preserved almost intact from 1198 until our own times as the *Regesta of the Popes*. The series begins with the *Deeds of Innocent III.* The anonymous author treats the cosmopolitan relations of the Papacy very exhaustively, more especially those with the East and Sicily; he does not bestow a single glance on Germany, and discourses of the history of the city without clearness or cohesion. He breaks off suddenly, before the death of the pope.

The official treatise on the life of Gregory IX. is due to a contemporary, who, filled with fanatical hatred of Frederick II., adopts the style of the Curia, and covers it with Biblical phraseology. More important is the biography of Innocent IV. by his chaplain, Nicholas de Curbio, afterwards Bishop of Assisi, who began the biography of Gregory IX. The book deserves recognition, and although by no means accurate and merely a panegyric, its good arrangement, good Latin, and easy style render it one of the most attractive works of the kind.

Nicholas de Curbio.

None of the succeeding popes of the thirteenth century found similar biographers. The short histories of their lives are contained in the collections of the fourteenth century, by the Dominican Bernard Guidonis, and by Amalricus Augerius, Prior of the Augustinians. The history of the popes fell into the hands of the mendicant monks; the

Dominicans more especially were industrious historiographers. The Bohemian Martin of Troppau, or Martinus Polonus, wrote his chronicle of the emperors and popes, a handbook filled with absurd fictions, which, however, attained a world wide celebrity and which falsified and dominated the written history of the Papacy.[1] Martin found imitators better than himself: the Dominican Ptolemy of Lucca, who compiled a serviceable history of the Church from the birth of Christ until 1312, and Bernard Guidonis, who wrote a history of the popes and emperors. These works belong to the succeeding century and form no part of the literary history of the city of Rome.[2]

Saba Malaspina.

Rome, however, is adorned by one native historian, Saba Malaspina, Dean of Malta and amanuensis of Martin IV. His work, although coloured by Guelf sympathies and by no means independent, has thrown great light on the fall of the Hohenstaufens and the Angevin revolution. His language is obscure and awkward, the tone of the history, however, energetic and truthful. Malaspina also takes thought of the circumstances of the city, and occasionally shows a feeling of

[1] The *Chronicle* of Martin goes down to John XXI. (A. 1277). It bestows merely a few words on Nicholas III. Edition in *Mon. Germ. Scriot.*, t. xxii., by Weiland.

[2] Bernard Guidonis, Dominican Inquisitor, died in 1331 as Bishop of Lodève. His work, *Flores Cronicor.*, or *cathalogus pontificum romanor.* (*Cod. Vat.*, 2043), ends with John XXII. It has been edited by Angelo Mai, but only down to Gregory VII. (*Spicileg. Rom.*, vi.); from Gregory VII. onward, it has been employed by Muratori and Baluzius.

patriotism. In spite of his official position he had magnanimity enough to express admiration for Manfred and sorrow for the fate of Conradin. This solitary historian stands—a unique figure—in the literary desert of Rome, and causes us deeply to regret that other of his fellow citizens have not transmitted to us the history of their times.[1] Giovanni Colonna, who was Archbishop of Messina in 1255, and died in the last quarter of the century, was his contemporary. A history of the world, bearing the marvellous title, *Mare Historiarum*, wrongly attributed to this Colonna, is the work of another Giovanni Colonna in the middle of the fourteenth century.[2] A third Colonna, Egidius (born about 1247), was conspicuous as a papist of undoubted greatness; he was the pupil of Thomas Aquinas, the tutor of Philip le Bel, general of the Augustinians and Archbishop of Bourges. This Magister of scholastic philosophy in Paris, as a follower of the principles of Thomas Aquinas in regard to the omnipotence of the pope, zealously defended Boniface VIII. against the King of France.[3] Egidius was

Egidius Colonna.

[1] His *Res Siculæ*, printed by Carusius, Muratori, Baluzius, extend from 1250 to 1276; it is continued down to 1285 by Gregorio, *Bibl. Aragon.*, ii. At the end of his history he calls himself *de urbe.* Fabricius also (*Bibl. Latina Mediæ et Infim. ætatis*) speaks of him as a Roman by birth. The family of Malaspina appears in Roman documents.

[2] *Mare Historiarum, Cod. Vat.*, 4963, and two MSS. in Paris. This second Giovanni Colonna also wrote *De viris ill.;* fragment in De Rubeis, *De gestis et scriptis S. Thomæ Aquinatis*, Venice, 1750. U. Balzani, "Landolfo e Giov. Colonna," *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, vol. viii. (1885), p. 223 f.

[3] He approved the resignation of Celestine V. in his treatise *de*

the first literary ornament of that house of Colonna to which Vittoria lent renown as a poetess in the sixteenth century. He compiled a great number of philosophical and theological works, and, before Philip of France ascended the throne, wrote for his instruction the book entitled *Of the government of princes*. It is one of the earliest treatises after the style of the *Mirror for Princes*, but reveals no knowledge of statesmanship.[1] We may place beside this pamphlet the *Oculus Pastoralis*, a mirror for republican rulers, which naïvely instructs Italian podestàs in the best mode of governing the cities over which they are set.[2]

The literary products of the Romans in the thirteenth century are not such as to constitute an epoch. Their sluggish nature was not stirred by the

Renunciatione Papæ (edition of the works of Egidius, Cordova, 1706). He defended Boniface VIII. in his work *De Ecclesiastica Potestate;* see *Ouvrage inédit de Gilles de Rome, en faveur de la papauté*, edited by Ch. Jourdain, *Excursions hist. à travers le moyen âge*, Paris, 1888, p. 173 f.

[1] *De Regimine Principum* (Roman edition, 1607, and in t. ii. of the *Bibl. Pont.* of Rocaberti). This work is based on the *Politics* of Aristotle, the study of whom had just been revived. The third book contains remarkable chapters directed against the communism of Plato. His principle was: *Optima est autem monarchia unius Regis, eo quod ibi perfectior unitas reservetur* (p. 458). Concerning his activity in Paris, Buläus, *Hist. Univ. Parisien.*, p. 671; Prantl, *Gesch. der Logik im Abendlande*, iii. 257. Egidius probably compiled the bull *Unam sanctam*. He died, probably at Avignon, in 1316.

[2] *Oculus Pastoralis, sive Libellus erudiens futurum Rectorem Populorum, anonymo auctore conscriptus circa A.* 1222. Murat., *Antiq.*, iv. 93. The work, assuredly that of a priest, is noteworthy on account of the principle which it represents; otherwise, it is a production of no account.

poetic fire, which began to stream throughout the rest of the Italian nation and which forms one of the most beautiful phenomena in the history of culture. In North Italy poets still wrote in the Provençal tongue; Albert Malaspina, Parcival Doria, and the celebrated Sordello filled the romance world with their names. In Sicily the "*lingua volgare*" became the poetic language of the court of the Hohenstaufens. In Bologna and Tuscany appeared poets, who imparted a physical spirit of reflection to their songs of earthly love. Among them Guido Guinicelli filled a conspicuous place, and the youthful Dante penned his song, *Amor che nella mente mi ragiona.* In Umbria, the land of grace and sentiment, Francis, the saint of the people, appeared, filled with the poetic power of a heart overflowing with celestial love. Even though he himself may not have been a poet (the hymn, *Altissimo, omnipotente, bon Signore*, in which all creatures glorify the Lord of the Universe, is attributed to him, though not with absolute certainty), he at any rate awoke poetic enthusiasm among his disciples. Thus the Franciscan sacred poetry arose, exalted and voluptuous in feeling, naïve in its ungainly expressions, but to enthusiastic minds inspiriting even at the present day. We must admit that these monkish troubadours brought the vulgar into honour, and struck a popular note. This note was not maintained in Italian poetry, but was instead soon stifled in Latinism and artificiality—weaknesses which have characterised the poetry of Italy down to our own day. The Franciscans also wrote Latin poems. Thomas of Celano was the

The poetry of the Franciscans.

author of the terribly sublime hymn *Dies Iræ*, and Jacopone of Todi composed the celebrated *Stabat Mater*—magnificent tone-pictures of the universal Judgment and the Passion, which celebrated painters afterwards translated into colour.[1] Fra Jacopone, the poet and demagogue of the spiritual brotherhood of the poor, rose against Boniface VIII. and satirised him in verse, as Dante did soon afterwards. Jacopone was the greatest poet of the Franciscan school, endowed with true poetic genius, and penetrated with the fire of creative passion.[2]

We find no lyric poet in Rome at this period. The ancient manuscript in the Vatican, which contains the poetry of the first centuries of the vulgar tongue, does not mention a single Roman name, beside that of Don Arrigo, the Senator of Rome and Infante of Castile. The popular tongue, which so happily developed in Italy as the *vulgare illustre*, found no one to foster it in Rome. Latin here remained the language of the Church, of law, of civic affairs. No inscription in the vulgar tongue is found among the numerous funeral epitaphs of the time, which retain for the most part the already antiquated Leonine form. The Romans looked disparagingly

[1] The *Stabat Mater* is ascribed without any foundation to Innocent III., a pope of powerful and cold intellect. In the monastery of the Monte Santo at Todi, I saw a MS. of the poems of Fra Jacopone, of the end of the fourteenth century, in which the *Stabat Mater* was included. It is absent from the Venetian edition of 1617.

[2] Ozanam: *Les Poëtes Franciscains en Italie au XIII. siècle. Jacopone da Todi il Giullare di Dio del secol. XIII.* by D'Ancona (*Studj sulla letter. ital. de' primi secoli*, Ancona, 1884). Concerning the influence of the Franciscans on art, see Henry Tode, *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1885.

on the vulgar tongue, and Dante, on the other hand spoke with offensive contempt of the dialect of their city, as "the melancholy language of the Romans," rude and detestable as their customs; he compares it to the language of the Marches and Spoleto. This was undoubtedly an exaggeration, for in this case the Roman popular tongue would in truth have been ruder than the dialect of the Bolognese, which was highly esteemed by Dante.[1]

The Roman vulgar tongue.

We still possess the Latin poetry of a Roman belonging to the time of Boniface VIII. in the work of the Cardinal Jacopo of the ancient Trasteverine family of the Stefaneschi.[2] He relates with satisfaction that he had studied the liberal arts in Paris, law in Bologna, and Lucan and Virgil on his own account, in order to make use of them as models. This avowal may serve to show that classical studies were not cultivated at this time in flourishing schools; at least we hear nothing of such studies in Rome, while in Tuscany and Bologna Buoncompagni and Brunetto Latini acquired fame in this branch of learning. Jacopo Stefaneschi sang in three poems the inglorious life of Celestine V. and the accession to the throne of Boniface VIII., to whom he owed the dignity of cardinal and whose memory he man-

Jacopo Stefaneschi.

[1] *Dicimus ergo Romanorum non vulgare, sed potius tristiloquium italorum omnium esse turpissimum; nec mirum cum etiam morum, habituumque deformitate præ cunctis videantur fœtere. Dicunt enim: Me sure, quinte dici* (that is to say, *Mia sorella, che cosa dici?*). *De Vulgari Eloq.*, i. c. xi.

[2] A genealogical table of the house, which reaches back to the tenth century, is attempted by G. Navone in the article, "Stefaneschi di Trastevere" (*Arch. d. Soc. Rome*, vol. i. p. 239).

fully defended; he moreover wrote a pamphlet on the jubilee of the year 1300, and a treatise on the ceremonial of the Roman Church. His works are valuable contributions to the history of the time; but his tortured muse is merely the slave of learned pedantry. His language, even in prose, appears of such hieroglyphic nature, and is so barbarously involved, that it awakes our astonishment and must be placed to the score of unnatural whimsicality. The cardinal wrote at Avignon, where he died in 1343. He was a friend of the sciences and also a Mæcenas of artists, among whom he recognised and encouraged the genius of Giotto. This meritorious Roman was distinguished at the end of the thirteenth, and the beginning of the fourteenth, century by such varied culture as to touch already on the humanistic period of Petrarch.[1]

[1] The MS. of the *Vita S. Georgii* compiled by the Cardinal of S. Giorgio in Velabro and adorned with miniatures by Giotto, is preserved in the Archives of S. Peter's. His poems are given by Muratori, iii. i. 641; his work on the Jubilee, in *Bibl. Max. Patr.*, xxv. 930; his Ceremoniale, in Mabillon, *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 243.

3. BUILDING OF CHURCHES — S. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN—S. PAUL'S—THE LATERAN—THE CHAPEL *SANCTA SANCTORUM*—S. LORENZO—S. SABINA—HOSPITALS — S. SPIRITO — S. THOMAS *IN FORMIS* —THE HOSPITAL AT THE LATERAN—S. ANTONIO ABBATE — THE PRINCIPLE OF GOTHIC ART — S. MARIA SOPRA MINERVA—CASAMARI, FOSSANOVA—GOTHIC TABERNACLES — THE ARTIST FAMILY OF THE COSMATI — VASSALETUS — SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS—CHARACTER OF ROMAN EPITAPHS.

The popes of this age also produced some patrons of art. None was more liberal than Innocent III., from the long list of whose votive gifts scarcely a church in Rome is omitted. He also undertook a general restoration of the basilicas.[1] He decorated the tribune of S. Peter's with mosaics, which only perished with the ancient basilica; and restored the courtyard laid waste by Barbarossa. Honorius III. and Gregory IX. completed his restorations. Gregory adorned the façade of the cathedral with a picture in mosaic, representing Christ between the Madonna and S. Peter, the four Evangelists and himself kneeling at the feet of the Saviour. These mosaics were preserved until the time of Paul V.

Roman architecture.

[1] The official register, *Cod. Vat.*, 7143, and in Mai, *Spicil.*, vi. 300–312. While cardinal, Innocent had restored S. Sergius and Bacchus. Inscription in Martinelli, *Roma ex ethn.*, p. 399. In Lib. ii. Ep. 102 of the *Regesta* of this pope is found his privilegium for this church, important as regards the topography of the Capitol. We read there *duo casalina juxta columnam perfectissimam* (?)—*Hortum S. Sergii, sive post S. Sergium, et hortum inter columnas usque ad abscidam, et usque ad custodiam Mamortinam.*

Innocent III. continued the buildings begun by his predecessor at the Vatican palace, erected a larger structure, and surrounded it with walls and gate-towers.[1] The disturbances in Rome—where the Lateran was the scene of furious civil wars—rendered it necessary for the popes to have a fortified dwelling at S. Peter's, and they consequently made their residence at the Vatican from the thirteenth century onwards. Returned from Lyons, Innocent IV. added to the Vatican palace, and after 1278 the building was continued by the magnificent Nicholas III., who took the architects Fra Sisto and Fra Ristori from Florence into his service for the purpose. Nicholas made the approach to the Vatican free and planned the gardens, surrounding them with walls and towers. His foundation was called the *viridarium novum*, whence the gate beside S. Peter's received the name *Porta viridaria*. The feeling for nature thus again awoke and, for the first time for centuries, Rome saw a park laid out. Nicholas III. is the earliest founder of the Vatican residence in its historic form.[2]

The Vatican.

[1] *Fecit fieri domos istas de novo—palatium claudi muris et super portas erigi turres. Cod. Vat.*, 6091.

[2] Fr. Pipin, p. 723. Several documents concerning this building are in the *Cod. Cencii* at Florence. The Pope bought tracts of ground *extra portam auream in monte Geretulo*, in order to make the garden. The spot is also thus designated: *extra portam auream seu castri S. Angeli prope Eccl. S. M. Magdalene ad pedes montis Malis.* An inscription brought from the wall of the Vatican garden to the Capitol in 1727 says:—† A.D. MCCLXXVIII. SCĪSSIM. PĀT. DN̄S. NICOLAVS. PP. III. FIERI. FECIT. PALATIA. ET. AVLAM. MAIORA. ET. CAPELLAM. ET. ALIAS. DOMOS. ANTIQVAS. AMPLIFICAVIT. PONT. SVI. A. PRIMO. ET.

The basilica of S. Paul was repeatedly restored and decorated. In the first half of the thirteenth century arose the magnificent cloister, the finest building of the kind in Rome, probably a work of the Cosmati. Similar to it and even more beautiful are the cloisters of the Lateran, which belong to the same period.[1]

Soon after the removal of the Papacy to Avignon, the Mother Church of the Lateran was destroyed by fire, and consequently now retains but few monuments of the thirteenth century. Nicholas III. restored it, as also the present palace, where he rebuilt the chapel Sancta Sanctorum. The reader of this history will remember that this was the private chapel of the popes, in which the most solemn services, more especially those of Easter-tide, were celebrated. Within the chapel were preserved the most venerated relics, the likeness of the Saviour, "not made with hands," and the heads of the princes of the apostles. The tasteful building of Nicholas III., the inner walls of which were lined with marble, adorned with spiral columns under Gothic pediments, and beautified with

The Lateran.

A. SEC. PONT. SVI. FIERI. FECIT. CIRCVITVM. MVROR. POMERII. HVIVS. FVIT. AVT. P. DC̄S. S. PONT. NATIONE. ROMANVS. EX. PATRE. DN̄I. MATHEI. RVBEI. DE. DOMO. VRSINORVM. Owing to the confusion of the word *Pomarium* with *Pomerium*, the Vatican garden also received the name *Pomerium*.

[1] The mosaic inscription in the courtyard of S. Paul's says that it was begun by the Abbot Peter (1193–1208) and finished by John V. (1208–1241). The courtyard of Subiaco, built under the Abbot Lando in 1235, is not so beautiful. The inscription there runs: *Cosmas et Filii Lucas et Jacobus alter Romani cives in Marmoris arte periti Hoc Opus explerunt Abbatis tempore Landi.*

mosaics and paintings, still exists—the solitary remaining fragment of the ancient Lateran palace.[1] This palace had been already rebuilt and refortified by Gregory IX.,[2] and after his death was continued by Nicholas III. The popes meanwhile were not satisfied with the Vatican and the Lateran. Honorius IV. built a residence near S. Sabina, Nicholas IV. another beside S. Maria Maggiore. Popes also erected villas and palaces in the Campagna at Montefiascone, Terni, Viterbo, and Soriano, and the increasing love of splendour drew upon them censures from various sides, people seeing in it evidence of too great worldliness or nepotism.[3]

Worthy of remark is the building of Honorius III. in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura, where the Pope united the two ancient basilicas, constructed the sacred presbyterium, and laid out the vestibule. The establishment of monasteries of the mendicant orders is also to be observed. These buildings, however, were merely enlargements of buildings already existing, with the exception perhaps of the convent of S.

[1] Concerning the building of it, see Ptol. Luc., c. 30, and Marangoni, *Istoria dell' antich' Oratorio di S. Lorenzo*, Rome, 1747. Adinolfi, *Roma di Mezzo*, i. 233 f. The inscription on the wall at the entrance is *Magister Cosmatus fecit hoc opus.*

[2] *In Lateranensi Palatio domus construxit altissimas, et Palatium nobile pauperum usibus deputatum. Vita*, Murat., iii. 577. Gregory III. also built a papal palace at Terni.

[3] *Nam quisque suas educet in altum*
Ædes, et capitis Petri delubra relinquet,
Ac Lateranenses aulas regalia dona
Despiciet, gaudens proprios habitare penates.

Thus Jacopo Stefaneschi on Nicholas IV. in his *Opus Metricum.*

Sabina, which was founded by S. Dominic, and where a court in the Roman style is likewise found.[1]

The most honourable work of the popes was the foundation of charitable institutions. Innocent III. erected the hospital and foundling home of S. Spirito, thereto inspired either by a vision, or by the jeers of the Romans, who taunted him with having built the gigantic Torre dei Conti to serve the ambitious aims of his house.[2] He built the hospital near S. Maria in Sassia, where in former days King Ina had founded a hospice for pilgrims (*schola Saxonum*). In 1204 Innocent entrusted the administration of this institution to the Provençal Guido, the founder of an order of Hospitallers at Montpellier, which bore the title of the Holy Ghost. The ancient house of the Anglo-Saxons was thus transformed into the hospital of S. Spirito, and this name passed to the church itself. The foundation was enlarged by later popes, and became the greatest institution of the kind in the world.[3]

Hospital of S. Spirito, 1204.

[1] There were at this time twenty privileged abbeys in Rome: *Alexius et Bonifacius* (Aventine). *Agatha* (Suburra). *Basilius juxta palatium Trajani. Blasius inter Tyberim et pontem S. Petri. Cæsarius in Palatio. Cosmas et Damianus* (Trastevere). *Gregorius in Clivo Scauri; Laurentius in Panisperna. S. Maria in Aventino; in Capitolio; in Castro Aureo* (Circus Flaminius); *in Pallara* (Palatine); *in Monasterio* (near *S. Pietro ad vincula*). *Pancratius in Via Aurelia. Prisca et Aquila* (Aventine). *Saba Cellæ Novæ* (beside the Aventine). *Silvester inter duos hortos* (also *de Capite*, on the Corso). *Thomas juxta formam Claudiam* (Cœlian). *Trinitatis Scottorum* (now *de' Pellegrini*). *Valentini juxta pontem* (*sc. Milvium*): Joh. Diacon., *liber de Eccl. Lateranensi* (Mabill., *Mus. Ital.*, ii. 547).

[2] *Hospitale—fecisse dicitur, quia reprehensus fuerat de tanto fastidioso ædificio:* Ptol. Luc., p. 1276. Ricobald, p. 126.

[3] *Gesta Innoc.*, c. 143; and bull, lib. xi. ep. 104. In 1471,

The hospital of S. Thomas had arisen some years before, near the Arch of Dolabella on the Cœlian, and was called *in Formis* from the adjacent aqueduct. Innocent III. made it over to John of Matha, a native of Nice, who had founded the order of the Trinitarians, for the purpose of redeeming Christian slaves. The little church still exists in an altered form, but of the hospital only a fragment of the ancient portal has been preserved at the entrance to the Villa Mattei.[1] A third hospital was founded in 1216 by Cardinal John Colonna at the Lateran, where it still survives; a fourth, S. Antonio Abbate, near S. Maria Maggiore by Cardinal Peter Capocci. Sufferers from S. Anthony's fire were here tended by the brethren of an order which had arisen in the south of France. This hospital has perished and only the ancient marble doorway, a round archway, shows that it formed part of a considerable building.[2]

Sixtus IV. rebuilt the hospital with great magnificence. It possesses a revenue of 85,000 scudi, and a state subsidy of 36,000 scudi. It annually accommodates over 12,000 patients and 2000 foundlings. Morichini, *Istituti di publica carità*, Rome, 1835 and 1870. Piazza, *Opere pie di Roma* (Rome, 1698).

[1] With a mosaic: Christ between two liberated slaves, and the inscription *Signum Ordinis S. Trinitatis Et. Captivorum.* On the arch of the portal: *Magistri Jacobus Cum Filio Suo Cosmato Fecit Hoc Opus.* The monastery perished in 1348. The site is described in a bull of Honorius III., A. 1217 (*Bullar. Vat.*, i. 100), who bestowed a part of the Cœlian on this order: *Montem cum Formis et aliis ædificiis positum inter clausuram Clodei* (reservoir of the Aqua Claudia) *et inter duas vias; unam videl. qua a prædicta Eccl. S. Thomæ itur ad Coliseum, et aliam qua itur ad SS. Iohem et Paulum.*

[2] The inscription on the portal says that the two executors, Otto of Tusculum and John Gætani (Nicholas III.), built the hospital. Peter died 1259.

Taken altogether, the ecclesiastical architecture of Rome displays no grandeur of conception during the thirteenth century. The want of new buildings did not make itself felt, since the restoration of ancient basilicas afforded sufficient occupation. In a period when, owing to the vigorous rise of the citizen class, the magnificent cathedrals of Florence, Siena, and Orvieto towered into being, Rome produced no great basilicas. It is true that, after the middle of the thirteenth century, the Gothic style, such as we have seen it in the chapel Sancta Sanctorum, made its appearance. This mystic style, which had developed inthe north of France, was adopted by the mendicant monks, was employed by them in the church erected over the grave of their saint at Assisi, and was modified to suit the artistic sense of the Italians. Nevertheless, if we except S. Maria sopra Minerva (which was begun under Nicholas III. in 1280 by Fra Sisto and Fra Ristori, the architects of S. Maria Novella in Florence),[1] Gothic architecture never developed in classic Rome. This half Gothic church was the only entirely new building of any importance erected in the capital of the Christian world during a long course of centuries. On the other hand, the convent churches of Casamari and Fossanova had been erected in good Gothic style as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century.[2]

Gothic architecture.

[1] Fra Sisto died in Rome in March 1289. Commentary on the life of Gaddo Gaddi, Vasari, i. 300, Florentine edition. Concerning these churches see Masetti, *Mem. della chiesa di S. M. sopra Minerva e de' suoi moderni restauri*, Rome, 1855.

[2] That this happened as early as the time of Innocent III. is shown by the register of his votive gifts . . . *Eccl. Fossenovæ pro*

It was only in tabernacles placed over altars and tombs that Gothic art, combined with decorations in Roman mosaics, showed itself conspicuous in Rome at the end of this century. The churches of the city still possess many of these graceful works, which are among the most interesting monuments of the Middle Ages. These are in part the work of Tuscan masters, such as the beautiful tabernacle in S. Paul's, probably executed by Arnolfo di Cambio, pupil of Nicola Pisano in 1285, in part the creation of Roman artists, such as the tabernacle of S. Maria in Cosmedin, executed by Deodatus at the orders of Cardinal Francesco Gætani.[1] As early as the eleventh century Roman artificers in marble were active even in Central and Southern Italy. They called themselves *Marmorarii* or *arte marmoris periti*, and this was characteristic of Rome;[2] for valuable marble remains were scattered over the entire city, which was a veritable Carrara for foreign towns. Rome consequently developed a special art of mosaic, made of pieces of marble, for which standing examples

Workers in marble.

consumatione edificii ejusd. eccl. C. libras—Monasterio Casemarii pro fabrica ipsius 200 *Unc. auri.* The foundation stone of this splendid church was laid in 1203.

[1] The inscription on the tabernacle of S. Paul :—

Anno Milleno Centum Bis Et Octuageno
Quinto, Summe Deus, Tibi Hic Abbas Bartholomeus
Fecit Opus Fieri, Sibi Tu Dignare Mereri.

Then : *Hoc Opus Fecit Arnolfus Cum Socio Suo Petro.* Agincourt, Tav. xxiii.; Moreschi, *Descriz. del tabernacolo di S. Paolo*, Rome, 1840. The tabernacle in S. Cecilia is ascribed to the same Arnolfo.

[2] A church in the Field of Mars called *S. Andree de Marmorariis* indicates the site of their workshops. Catalogue of the Roman churches of the period of Avignon, in Papencordt, p. 54.

were provided by the mosaics of ancient houses and temples. Slabs of marble were torn from the ancient buildings, splendid columns were hewn in pieces in order to supply material for decorative ornament, especially for pavements in churches, which were skilfully inlaid with pieces of porphyry, serpentine, giallo, white and black marble. Tabernacles, ambones, altars, tombs, episcopal chairs, Easter candlesticks, columns, arches and friezes in cloisters were ornamented with mosaics. All these works—in part graceful, more especially the pavements of the churches—form accusing witnesses to the continued pillage of the ancient splendour of Rome, whose wealth of marble was daily employed without ever becoming exhausted. The marble workers also sacked the catacombs for material, and many ancient inscriptions were thus lost.

The school of the Cosmati.

From this Roman art of working in stone (*opus romanum*) arose, after the end of the twelfth century, the distinguished family of stone-cutters, the Cosmati, who exercised an important influence on local art. This family, whose activity fills an entire century, was descended from a certain Master Lawrence, who, with his son Jacopo, is first met with about the year 1180.[1] It flourished through sons and grandsons for several generations, under the names of Cosma, John, Luca, Diodato. And although the name of Cosma is only found in one instance, the family has in a

[1] The earliest mention dates from the year 1180: *Jacobus Laurentii fecit has XIX. columnas cum capitellis suis: Description of the City of Rome*, iii. 3, 572. On an ambone in Aracœli: *Laurentius cum Jacobo filio suo hujus operis magister fuit.*

curious way been named from the bearer.[1] If the works of the Cosmati did not obtain the renown of a Nicola or a Giovanni, an Arnolfo, Cimabue or Giotto, they nevertheless ennobled Rome by an original school of art, and filled Latium, Tuscany, and even Umbria with works in which architecture, sculpture, and mosaic-painting were combined in tabernacles, ambones, tombs, porticos, and cloisters. The family and the school of the Cosmati vanished from Rome at the time when the Papacy, which had begun to encourage art, forsook the city for France, and they and their works were swallowed up in the darkness of the abandonment of Rome consequent on the exile to Avignon. Another school which flourished beside the school of the Cosmati met with the same fate. Its head was Bassallectus or Vassalletus, to whom the beautiful cloister of the Lateran is ascribed.[2]

[1] Concerning the Cosmati family: Karl Witte, *Kunstblatt*, 1825, n. 4; *Notizie epigraf. degli artefici marmorarii romani dal X. al XV. secolo*, by Carlo Promis, Turin, 1836, and Gaye (*Kunstblatt*, 1839, n. 61 f.); Barbier de Montault, *Ann. arch. par Didron*, 1858, vol. 18, p. 265 f.; Camillo Boito, "L'architettura cosmatica," Milano, 1860 (*Giorn. Ing. Arch. e Agron.*), only known to me through De Rossi's treatise: "Del così detto opus Alexandrinum e dei marmorarii romani" . . . *Bull. d. Arch. crist.*, 1875, p. 110 f. Worthy of observation is the portico of the cathedral of Civita Castellana, built by Laurentius and his son Cosmas in 1210. The Greek name Cosmas appeared in Ravenna as early as the ninth century. (Marini, *Papiri*, n. 98, p. 153).

[2] Concerning Vassalectus, see De Rossi, *Bull.*, 1875, p. 128 ., and Barbier de Montault in *Rev. Arch.*, Ser. i. vol. xiv. p. 244. The history of Vassalectus in these cloisters is also given in Adinolfi, *Roma di Mezzo*, i. 210. A marble lion, a work of this artist, bearing the inscription *Bassalectus*, stands in the atrium of *Sti Apostoli*. On the

Conspicuous in Rome are the tombs, which for the most part belong to the higher ranks of the clergy. The custom of making use of ancient sarcophagi still continued, but in consequence of the influence of the Pisan school, independent monuments were also erected. On the death of Innocent V., Charles instructed his chamberlain in Rome to look for a porphyry sarcophagus, in which the remains of the pope could be interred; in case no sarcophagus was forthcoming, he was to order a beautiful monument to be prepared.[1] No monument of any celebrated person belonging to the first half of the thirteenth century has been preserved in Rome, where the destruction of numerous tombs, especially in S. John's and S. Peter's, is to be deplored. The series of monuments which still exists begins with the tomb of Cardinal William Fieschi (who died 1256), the legate to Apulia so ignominiously sent home by Manfred. Fieschi lies in an ancient marble sarcophagus, the reliefs on which represent a Roman marriage — curious symbol for a cardinal! To

Sepulchral monuments.

in S. Lorenzo.

Easter Candlestick in S. Paul's are the words: *Ego Niconaus* (*sic*) *de Angelo cum Pietro Bassalletto hoc op. complevi.* In 1263 *Vasaletus de Roma* made the throne in S. Andrea at Anagni. See "L'arte romana mediœvale" in Rome by Ferri Mancini (*Studj e Docum.*, 1887, p. 142 *sq.*). He also made the tomb of Adrian V. in S. Francesco at Viterbo.

[1] To Hugo of Besançon: *per Urbem inquiras—Si aliqua conca porfidis vel alicujus alterius pulchri lapidis prout illi qui sunt in S. Joanne Laterani poterit inveniri—et in ea corpus—Pontificis reponi facias—Et si—non poterit inveniri, volumus quod—fieri facias sepulturam consimilem illi Comitisse attrebatensis et etiam si poterit pulchriorem* (Vitale, p. 152).

mediæval art merely belongs the simple rectilinear tabernacle, on which are depicted Christ enthroned, and standing beside him Innocent IV. with S. Lawrence, and the cardinal with S. Stephen. The dead is glorified in long and exaggerated inscriptions.

Next in order comes the tomb of Cardinal Richard Anibaldi, the celebrated leader of the Guelfs and the adherent of Charles of Anjou. This simple monument, placed on the wall of the left nave of the Lateran, is modern, as also is the inscription; the marble figure, however, is the original. The tomb recalls the great period of the Hohenstaufens and the interregnum; for Richard lived as cardinal throughout the entire period extending from the days of Gregory IX. until those of Gregory X., and died in Lyons in 1274.

Another younger cardinal of the same period, Ancherus of Troyes (who died in 1286), lies in S. Prassede, in a well-preserved monument, which already shows the rapid progress of Roman sculpture, and is assuredly a work of the Cosmati. The dead lies on a couch with richly carved marble roof, resting on four tiny columns, the space between which is filled with mosaics.[1]

[1] On the wall above is the following inscription :—

Qui Legis Ancherum Duro Sub Marmore Claudi
Si Nescis Audi Quem Nece Perdis Herum.
Greca Parit Puerum, Laudunum Dat Sibi Clerum
Cardine Praxedis Titulatur Et Istius Edis
Defuit in Se Lis : Largus Fuit Atque Fidelis ;
Demonis A Telis Serva Deus Hunc Cape Celis :

The family vault of the Savelli is found in Aracœli, where this noble family built a chapel, which was adorned with paintings. It still contains two tombs, that of the mother of Honorius IV., where the pope himself lies buried, and the mausoleum of the senator. The former is a sarcophagus decorated with mosaics on a gold ground, under a rectilinear tabernacle. Upon it rests the marble effigy of Honorius IV., a man with handsome, beardless face. The statue was first brought from the Vatican by Paul III. and placed on a sarcophagus, in which lay Vana Aldobrandeschi, the mother of Honorius.[1] The second monument curiously combines antique with mediæval forms; a marble urn with Bacchic reliefs, belonging to the period of the decline of Roman art, serves as a foundation on which rises a mosaic sarcophagus with Gothic ornament. The arms of the house are represented on three different places on the front; inscriptions of different dates are irregularly engraved. For here

The tombs of the Savelli.

Anno Milleno Centum Bis Et Octuaceno
Sexto Decessit Hic Prima Luce Novembris.

To the year 1287 belongs the epitaph on Cardinal Glusiano Comes of Milan, placed to his memory in the Lateran by Cardinal Jacopo Colonna.

[1] The arms of the Savelli are twice represented on the front: Bendy of six, or and gu.; a fess vert, charged with a bar wavy of the first, supporting a chief, arg., charged with two lions, affronted, holding in their fore-paws a rose surmounted by a dove, all of the second. The coat-of-arms in the centre (lion and eagle gu.) is that of Vana. See Oldoin's note to the *Vita Honorii IV.* in Ciacconius. Pandulf had erected a Gothic cenotaph in 1296 to Honorius IV. in S. Alessio; see the illustration in Nerini, p. 260; probably a work of the Cosmati, as also the tombs in Aracœli.

rest several of the Savelli; first the Senator Luca, father of Honorius IV., John, and Pandulf, to whom the monument was erected by his sons, then the celebrated Senator Pandulf and his daughter Andrea; further Mabilia Savelli, the wife of Agapitus Colonna, and other members of the family belonging to later periods.[1]

Cardinal Latinus Malabranca, at whose instigation Celestine V. became pope, lies in the Minerva; beside him Cardinal Matthew Orsini. The sarcophagus is in the form of a couch, on which slumbers the figure of the cardinal. The finest works of the Cosmati school belong to the reign of Boniface VIII. Precisely at this time John, son of the second Cosma, produced under the eyes of Giotto several monuments of excellent design. These were sarcophagi in Gothic tabernacles, where the Virgin with saints is represented over the dead, whose sleep is guarded by two angels, sculptured in marble—a conception of such grace as was never equalled in later times.[2] The most celebrated production of this master is the monument of William Durante in the Minerva, a work of refined execution.[3] Similar to it is the tomb

[1] *Hic Jacet Dn̄s Pandulfus De Sabello Et Dn̄a Andrea Filia Ejus Qui Obierunt Anno Dn̄i MCCCVI. In Vigil. Beati L(ucæ).—Hic Iacet Dn̄s Lucas de Sabello Pater Dni Papæ Honorii Dn̄i Johis Et Dn̄i Pandulfi Qui Obiit Dum Esset Senator Urbis Anno Dn̄i. MCCLXVI. Cuius Aīa Requiescat in Pace. Amen* (the principal inscription).

[2] In the same style the Cosmati also chiselled the monument of the prefects of Vico in S. Maria in Gradibus at Viterbo, that of Clement IV., and the monument of the family of Boniface VIII. in the cathedral at Anagni.

[3] *Joh's Filius Magistri Cosmatis Fec. Hoc. Opus.* The mosaic

of Cardinal Gunsalvus of Albano, of the year 1299, in S. Maria Maggiore.[1] The sculptor inscribed his name on a third work of art, namely, the admirable monument in the church of S. Balbina to the chaplain of Boniface VIII.—Stephen, a member of the Ghibelline family of the Surdi.[2] Whether or not the tomb of Boniface himself in the crypt of the Vatican was executed by John is uncertain. The sarcophagus displays the marble effigy of the pope; but the work, although simple and powerful, lacks the refined grace of those already mentioned.

The art of the Cosmati takes leave of Rome in the tomb of Matthew of Acquasparta, general of the Franciscans, who died in 1302 and was buried in Aracœli. The monument neither bears John's name, nor in fact has any inscription whatever, but nevertheless belongs to the school of this artist.[3] The same year died Cardinal Gerard of Parma, whose monument in the left aisle of the Lateran, now placed high against the wall, is a simple sarcophagus with a long and barbarous inscription in Leonine verses. The cover, which merely displays the engraved figure

represents the Madonna with the Child, S. Dominic, Bishop Privatus, Durante kneeling. The plinth bears a pompous inscription. The date of his death, November 1, 1296, is given as: *trecentis quatuor amotis annis.*

[1] *Hoc Op̄. Fēc. Johes. Magri Cosme Civis Romanus.*

[2] *Joh. Filius Magistri Cosmati Fecit Hoc Opus.* The epitaph speaks of the dead simply as: STEPHAN D. SVRD. DNI. PP. CAPELLAN. Here there is no tabernacle.

[3] Cardella notes that this tomb, which is without any inscription, is that of the cardinal. The deeply learned Matthew was Boniface VIII.'s legate in the Romagna and in Florence in 1300. He is mentioned by Dante, *Paradiso*, xii. v. 124.

of the dead, was afterwards placed upright against the wall, in order to enable the engraving to be seen.

We must bestow a glance on the numerous sepulchral slabs found in Roman churches, memorable registers in stone of the dead. They formerly covered the floors of the basilicas like a mosaic, but gradually disappeared. From the eighth century onward the dead were buried in churches. For a long time their resting-place was marked merely by a simple slab on the pavement, which recorded their name, the date of their death, and the words, "May his soul rest in peace." A taper was afterwards engraved on the stone beside the inscription; then, more particularly after the thirteenth century, it became customary to depict the person himself either in relief or outline, slumbering on a pillow, the hands crossed upon his breast, the arms of the family on the right and left beside the head, and a Latin inscription round the edge of the stone. The oldest of these monuments have been for the most part destroyed; several belonging to the thirteenth century, however, are still found in Aracœli, SS. Cecilia, Maria sopra Minerva, Prassede, Sabina, Lorenzo in Panisperna, and other churches, the slabs occasionally inlaid with mosaics. The finest monument of this kind is the gravestone of the general of the Dominicans, Munio de Zamora, in S. Sabina, a work of the year 1300, from the hand of the master, Jacopo de Turrita.[1]

Grave-stones.

[1] At the same place is the gravestone of *D. Ocilenda Uxor D. Angeli De Manganella Et Filia Normanni De Monte Mario*; further

Monuments such as these, which became increasingly numerous in the fourteenth century, are memorable also as representations of the costumes of the period. They show besides the gradual transformation of the alphabetical characters, a subject concerning which we have to say a few words. In the first half of the thirteenth century, the ancient epigraphic character was still preserved in Rome; towards the end of the same century the letters grew irregular, and we note complete arbitrariness in the drawing more especially of the E, M, N, and V. The Roman line begins to take a curved form, the E and C to be closed with a bar. At the end of the century writing becomes adorned with flourishes. Typical of the new form is the T, of which the hooks of the transverse bar are prolonged and strongly curved outwards. This picturesqueness of style gives the writing a varied and curious aspect. These characters, which predominated during the whole of the fourteenth century and only disappeared with the Renaissance, have been called Gothic. Although they have nothing more to do with the Goths than the style of art which has been called after them, they are nevertheless allied with Gothic art, which took form even in Italy precisely at the end of the thirteenth century. Their style, moreover, in inscrip-

Their epigraphic character.

of Perna Savelli, a figure with a hood. Round the edge is: *A.D. Milo. CCCXV. M. Januarii Die XXVIII. Obiit Nobiliss. Dna. Perna Uxor Quond. Dni Luce de Sabello C.A.R. In Pace. Amen.* This is an example of the whole class of tombs. The gravestone of the Canon Petrus de Sabello of the year 1287 in S. Alessio is worthy of observation on account of the drawing of the priestly vestments.

tions as completely harmonises with Gothic art as the Arabic character with Moorish architecture. They express a change in the æsthetic sense of mankind, and accord with the movement of the time towards a more complex costume; standing towards the aristocratic form of the ancient Roman writing as the Gothic church towards the basilica, and as the vulgar tongue towards the Latin.[1]

4. Plastic Art—Sculpture—Statue of Charles of Anjou on the Capitol—Statues in honour of Boniface VIII.—Painting—Mural Painting—Giotto works in Rome—Rise of Mosaic Art—Tribunes decorated by Jacopo de Turrita—Giotto's Navicella at the Vatican.

The fine arts rested in the bosom of the Church like petals in the chalice of the flower. It was only in the Church that they developed, and they remained exclusively in her service. Painting, the art more especially employed in the expression of sacred ideas, necessarily flourished to a greater degree than sculpture, which lived on recollections of Paganism.

Sculpture.

But sculpture also, although remaining in subservient attitude towards ecclesiastical architecture, made a certain amount of progress in Rome in the thirteenth century. In tombs, tabernacles, doors, and porticos a higher sense of form is observed, even the study of the antique. The works of the ancients, sarcophagi,

[1] Still more striking is its character in Lombardy. In Rome the characters did not change so completely as in the north.

columns and statues, were nowhere more numerous than in Rome. Appreciation of the antique was reawakened. As early as the end of the twelfth century Clement III. had caused the ancient equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius to be erected in front of the Lateran as a public ornament, and must not the searching gaze of artists of the thirteenth century have detected the beauty of the ancient work? The genius of the Pisan Nicolò was nourished on the spirit of the ancients. Artists of his school came to Rome; none of the Cosmati, however, rose here to be an actual sculptor, and the masterpieces of antiquity, the Laocoon, the Apollo of the Belvedere, the Dying Gladiator, lay buried deep within their graves, only to arise in an age that was qualified to appreciate their beauty. The carving of statuettes, which the Gothic style fostered to such great degree, appears, as it were, merely in germ in the works of the Cosmati; it was soon abandoned in Rome, as being at variance with the character of the basilicas. Rome produced nothing corresponding to the pulpits in Pisa, Siena, and Pistoja; nothing that could compare with the sculptures on the cathedral of Orvieto. One isolated instance, however, shows that the sculptor's art recognised its ancient connection with political life. The erection of a life-sized statue of Charles of Anjou on the Capitol, by order of the Senate, is an event in the history of art. Sculpture thereby for the first time entered other service than that of the Church. On the ancient Capitol, where the Romans had formerly erected so many statues to the honour of their

heroes and tyrants, whose broken limbs lay in the surrounding dust, their latest descendants raised a rude and uncouth statue to their senator, a Gallic conqueror. Outside Rome the ancient custom had already been revived by Frederick II., whose statue with that of his chancellor had been erected in Capua. About the same time a small equestrian statue, which may still be seen in the Broletto, was put up in Milan to the Podestà Oldradus. Mantua dedicated a bust to Virgil, and in 1268 the Modenese erected a public statue of the excellent and benevolent lady Buonissima.

The model for the statue of the Angevin may have been the similar statue of the great Frederick; or the sculptor may possibly have employed for his purpose the seated figure of Peter in the Vatican, or have studied the likeness in marble of some ancient imperator, who had remained in hermit-like seclusion amid the ruins of the Forum. Charles, however, had himself sat as a model; for his statue is an actual portrait taken from life—a priceless monument of mediæval Rome. Separated by centuries of barbarism from the marble statues of Posidippos and Menander, or of Nerva, seated god-like upon his throne in the Vatican Museum, it was, however, vigorous as was the age of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and expressive in its untutored realism. The chisel of an accomplished artist would scarcely have succeeded in depicting the likeness of a tyrant in the murderer of Conradin so well as the unskilled hand of a sculptor of the thirteenth century, who, in spite of the combination of ancient ideal drapery with

Portrait statue of Charles of Anjou.

historical portraiture, reproduced unidealised the characteristics of Charles.[1]

The principle of erecting statues in honour of eminent men reappears in the time of Boniface VIII. Several cities, more especially cities of which he had been podestà, set up statues in honour of the pope; thus, for instance, Orvieto, Florence, Anagni, and Rome in the Vatican and Lateran. Even Bologna in 1301 erected his statue in front of the communal palace.[2] His enemies reproached him with the fact; for Nogaret's letter of accusation expressively says, that he placed silver effigies of himself in the churches in order to lead the people astray to the worship of idols—a striking testimony to the barbarous conception of the principles of the sculptor's art in the France of those days.[3] The remains of the statues of this celebrated pope which still exist show no free development of portraiture in sculpture. The seated figure on the outside of the cathedral of Anagni appears rude and coarse, like the figure of an idol.

Portrait statues of Boniface VIII.

[1] In 1481 this statue was re-erected by the Senator Matteo Toscano, with an inscription which has now disappeared :—

Ille ego præclari tuleram qui sceptra Senatus,
Rex Siculus Carolus jura dedi populis.
Obrutus heu jacui saxis fumoque, dederunt
Hunc tua cospicuum tempora Sixte locum.
Hac me Mattheus posuit Tuschanus in aula,
Et patriæ et gentis gloria magna suæ.
Is dedit at populo post me bona jura Senatus
Insignis titulis, dotibus atque animi
Anno Domini MCCCCLXXXI. III. Semestri.

Joh. Rubeus. *Vita Bonif.*, p. 89.

[2] *Hist. du Differ.*, p. 331.

Painting.

Painting, the traditions of which were preserved in the ancient basilicas, flourished more prominently in Rome than did sculpture. The earliest mural paintings of the thirteenth century are those in S. Lorenzo. They belong to the time of Honorius III., who restored this beautiful basilica. Honorius covered the atrium as well as the interior with frescoes, parts of which are faded, while others have suffered such wholesale restoration as to have entirely lost their original character. They display a rude though vigorous style of undeveloped art, similar to that of the mural paintings in the chapel of S. Silvestro in the Quattro Coronati, which are ascribed to the same period.[1] They also testify to the application of fresco painting to great surfaces of wall in the beginning of the thirteenth century, such as is only shown in equal breadth and proportions in the church of the Sacro Speco at Subiaco.

With the time of Cimabue and Giotto, the creator of the system of decorating walls with a series of historic pictures, art attained a brilliant degree of excellence in Italy, as is shown in Assisi, Padua, and Florence. The celebrated Florentine, Cimabue, first came to Rome about 1270, and after having worked in Assisi, returned to Rome at a later date. A representation of the monuments of Rome, or a plan of the city, remains in the church of San Francesco

[1] The mural paintings in the vestibule (Agincourt, Plate 99) for the most part represent scenes from the lives of SS. Stephen and Lawrence. It is said that some refer to Peter's coronation; but I have not discovered them. The figure of an emperor kneeling in front of the pope is crowned with a nimbus; this is probably Henry II., a legend concerning whom is also depicted here.

in Assisi, as a monument of his Roman sojourn.[1] Giotto painted in Rome between 1298 and 1300. His frescoes in S. Peter's and the jubilee loggia of the Lateran, built by Boniface VIII., have unfortunately perished, as well as the paintings of his Roman pupil Pietro Cavallini. Only a fragment from the hand of Giotto *al fresco*, representing the pope with features true to life, as he announced the jubilee from the loggia, is still seen under glass on a pillar in the Lateran;[2] also a likeness of the miniature-painter Oderisio of Gubbio, celebrated by Dante and employed by Boniface VIII. in Rome, where he died in 1299. The Pope had books for the Lateran library illuminated by Oderisio and Franco Bolognese.[3]

Giotto's frescoes.

Good pictures in mosaic, with which some churches are still adorned, were also produced in the thirteenth century.[4] This national Roman art brought forth excellent work in the sixth century, then fell to decay, to awake to a new life in the twelfth. In the thirteenth it received a powerful incentive from Tuscan art, although its Romano-Christian ideal remained essentially unchanged. Its works in this century, which begin with Honorius III., are at first rude and awkward, as in the frieze of the portico of

Mosaics.

[1] J. Strygowski, *Cimabue und Rom*, Vienna, 1888, p. 158: A notarial deed, Rome, June 18, 1272, is signed *Cimabove pictor de Florentia.*

[2] With reference to Giotto's paintings in this loggia, see E. Müntz, *Etudes sur l'histoire des arts à Rome pend. le moyen-âge: Boniface VIII. et Giotto*, Rome, 1881.

[3] Vasari, ed. Milanesi, i. 384 f.

[4] *Musaici cristiani e saggi dei Pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al sec. XV.*, edited by G. B. de Rossi, Rome, 1872 ff.

S. Lorenzo, and in the niches of S. Costanza near S. Agnese of the time of Alexander IV. They afterwards assumed a bolder style. Honorius III. had already begun the great picture in the tribune of S. Paul, which was finished by Nicholas III. as abbot of the monastery. This work consequently bears a two-fold character, but nevertheless inaugurates the second era of Roman painting, which received a violent check in its development in consequence of the exile to Avignon.

Jacopo della Turrita.

About the end of the thirteenth century a school of mosaic workers, immortalised through its head, Jacopo della Turrita and his companion Giacomo of Camerino, flourished in Rome. Both men were, it is believed, brothers of the order of Minorites. The enthusiasm of the Franciscans, which had created the first temple in which the Italian arts were combined, exercised a stimulating influence on the creative activity of Italy. Under Nicholas IV. Turrita executed the decorations in the tribune of the Lateran in a series of figures of saints and symbols, with a picturesque lavishness such as had not been employed in Rome for centuries.[1] The centre of the whole is the Cross, sparkling with precious stones, placed on a bust of the Saviour against a gold background; this is of older date and divides the groups of figures. The two more modern

[1] On the mosaic in S. M. Maggiore the artist wrote *Jacobus Torriti Pictor Hoc Opus Masaicen fecit*, with the date 1295. It is impossible that he should be identical with *Jacobus, frater S. Francisci*, who covered the tribune of S. John's in Florence with mosaics in 1225. Vasari, i., Commentary on the *Vita di Andrea Tafi*.

saints, Francis and Antony, already appear accepted among the apostles, but as recent creations are depicted in smaller dimensions.

The best work of Turrita was executed in S. Maria Maggiore, which Nicholas IV. and Cardinal Jacopo Colonna caused to be ornamented with mosaics. The principal subject is the Coronation of Mary by the Saviour, a large picture on an azure background. Angels forming a glory hover round; on each side through the sparkling golden heaven they approach the crowned Virgin, who raises her hands in humility; standing beside her are Peter and Paul, the two Johns, here Francis and there Antony of Padua. Branches of vine with birds of various hues are entwined on the gold background above, and form a sumptuous decoration—a decoration, however, which rather overpowers the main subject. Nicholas IV. and the cardinal, at whose commands the work was executed, are given on a smaller scale on their knees, a method of representation which is frequently repeated. The two modern heroes of the Church, Francis and Antony, appear, on the contrary, life-sized figures like the apostles. We might believe that the artists had before their eyes some ancient mosaic pavement, such as existed in Palestrina, and had borrowed thence the boats filled with Cupids depicted on both the mosaics, the swans, the animals drinking, the flowers, and the river-gods. The mosaic fills the building with a solemn golden splendour that is more than earthly. When illumined by the sunlight falling through the purple curtains, it reminds us of that glowing heaven, bathed in whose glories

Dante saw SS. Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and Bonaventura. Then the spell of the work seizes us with its radiance like the music of some majestic anthem. Turrita completed the decoration of this ancient temple to Mary; for the celebrated mosaics of the principal nave, belonging to the period of Sixtus III., and inspired by the traditions of earlier art, were added by him as the completion of his pictures in the tribune, the finest work of all the mosaic painting in Rome.

Mosaics executed by Philip Russuti at the orders of Cardinals Jacopo and Peter Colonna, at the end of the century, are found in the great loggia outside the same Church. They represent Christ enthroned between saints, and scenes which refer to the legend of the building of the basilica. The Colonna were deeply attached to S. Maria Maggiore, where members of their family lay buried. While their illustrious house was shattered by the thunderbolts of Boniface VIII., the populace beheld the figure of the execrated Cardinal Jacopo kneeling among the saints, amid the glories of the mosaic heaven. Boniface loved art and splendour, and nothing but his political occupations prevented him from acquiring immortality by monuments of greater importance. He built the jubilee loggia in the Vatican, and the sepulchral chapel, which has perished, in the Lateran.[1] Giotto also worked in the Vatican; Cardinal Jacopo

[1] It stood beside a tower-like building called *Palazzo nuovo*, and was in the form and style of a ciborium. The pope's architect was the Magister Cassette, who also built the papal palace at Anagni. Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran*, p. 194.

Stefaneschi, who employed him in his titular church, S. Giorgio in Velabro, gave him the commission for the celebrated mosaic known as the "Navicella," which formerly adorned the atrium of S. Peter's and is now built into the wall of the porch above the entrance. In this picture, which has lost its original charm in later restorations, Giotto's drawing alone remains undestroyed. It represents the Church as the bark of Peter, sailing in the storm, while the Prince of the Apostles advances towards Christ across the waves of Galilee—an ancient symbol, as appropriate as it was prophetic for the history of Boniface VIII. and the close of the thirteenth century.[1]

Giotto's Navicella.

5. General Picture of Rome in the Thirteenth Century—The Roman Towers and Fortresses of the Nobility—The Torre dei Conti and Torre delle Milizie—The Fortress Capo di Bove on the Via Appia—The Palace of the Commune on the Capitol—The Plan of the City of the time of Innocent III.

The age of party warfare, of the exile of popes and citizens, and of the devastation of the city was

[1] With respect to the mosaic, see Torrigio, *Le sacre grotte*, p. 162. It cost 2200 gold florins. Giotto's mosaics in S. Giorgio have perished. Another Stefaneschi, *Bertoldus Filius Pet.*, probably a brother of the cardinal, ordered a mosaic from Pietro Cavallini at the end of the thirteenth century, in which a half-length figure of the Virgin between SS. Peter and Paul, and the portrait of the donor kneeling, are depicted on the wall of the tribune of S. M. in Trastevere.

not calculated to create or preserve monuments of civic architecture. The nobles only built towers, the popes only hospitals or residences, the senators repaired the city walls. We find scarcely any tidings concerning public municipal buildings in the thirteenth century. Profound silence covers the aqueducts, and only once are we informed that Gregory IX. had the Cloaca cleansed, and the Bridge of S. Maria restored. Rome fell to ruin. No officials watched over the monuments. Earthquakes, inundations, civic wars, the building of the towers of the nobility, the restoration of churches, the lack of workers in marble, the searches of foreign buyers destroyed the monuments, and the increasing accumulations of rubbish buried the ancient city evermore deeper. Many masterpieces of art disappeared, as it were by a beneficent spell, beneath its soil. They vanished from the eyes of the men of that day, who continued their fierce struggles above their graves, and only reappeared at a later age as witnesses of a classic past. Many statues still lie buried in subterranean Rome. In the summer of 1864 we beheld the colossal bronze figure of Hercules, brought from the ruins of the Theatre of Pompey, where it had lain for centuries, suddenly and almost uninjured, into the light of day.

Picture of the city.

A model of the city in the thirteenth century would afford us the strangest picture. Rome resembled a huge field, encircled with moss-covered walls, with tracts of wild and cultivated land, from which rose gloomy towers or castles, basilicas and convents crumbling to decay, and monuments of

colossal size clothed with verdure; baths, broken aqueducts, colonnades of temples, isolated columns, and triumphal arches surmounted by towers; while a labyrinth of narrow streets, interrupted by rubbish heaps, led among these dilapidated remains, and the yellow Tiber, passing under broken stone bridges, flowed sadly through the ruinous waste.[1] Round the city, within the ancient walls of Aurelian, stood tracts of land, here waste, there cultivated, resembling country estates in their extent. Vineyards and vegetable gardens lay scattered like oases through the whole of Rome, in the very midst of the present city; beside the Pantheon and the Minerva, as far as the Porta del Popolo, from the Capitol down to the Forum, on the ruins of which stood towers, and the surface of which, no less than the Palatine, was covered with vineyards.[2] Baths and circuses were overgrown with grass, and were here and there absolutely marshy. Everywhere that the eye rested might be seen gloomy, defiant, battlemented towers, built out of the monuments of the ancients, with crenelated enceintes of most original form, constructed of pieces of marble, bricks, and fragments of peperino. These were the castles and palaces of Guelf or Ghibelline nobles, who sat thirst-

[1] The path of the papal processions was blocked by rubbish. *Sed propter parvitatem diei et difficultatem viæ, facit (Papa) stationem ad S. M. Majorem*—says the *Ordo Rom.* in Mabillon, ii. 126.

[2] In the time of Boniface VIII., Nicholas Frangipani compiled a *synopsis prædior. Lateranensium* (in Crescimbeni, *Istoria della Chiesa di S. Giov. avanti porta Latina*, p. 203), in which an *arcus foce magina* is mentioned, further *orti* and *arcus* near S. Cosma. This *arcus* seems to have been the *arcus Fabianus*.

ing for battle in ruins on the classic hills, as though Rome were not a city but an open territory, the possession of which was to be disputed in daily warfare. There was not a single nobleman in Rome at the time who was not owner of a tower. In deeds of the period the possessions of the Romans in the city are occasionally specified as "towers, palaces, houses, and ruins."[1] Families dwelt among ruins, in uncomfortable quarters, barred by heavy iron chains, with their relatives and retainers, and only now and then burst forth with the wild din of arms, to make war on their hereditary enemies.

We may enumerate the most considerable of these towers of the nobility, being, as they are, the essential features of the city in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during which period the aristocracy divided among themselves the possession of Rome.

Towers of the nobility.

The towers of the Papa and of the Romani, of the Normanni and the Stefaneschi, to which the fortress of Anguillara was later added, stood in the Trastevere.[2] On the island of the Tiber rose the towers of the Frangipani, which belonged to the prefects of Vico about the middle of the thirteenth century. A solitary tower of the bridge is all that now remains.

The Vatican territory, where S. Peter's stood

[1] *Magister Matth. Alperini—certam partem Turrium, Palatior. Domor., ruinar., possessionum et bonor. suor. in Urbe consistentium, Basilicæ Princ. Ap.—reliquit:* Bull of 1278, *Bullar. Vatican.*, i. 125.

[2] A tower Anguillara still stands on the Lungaretta. Seen from the Ponte Cestio, Trastevere and the bank of the river form a curious picture. Here and there a grey baronial tower rises by the river among modern houses. It was while looking at Rome from this bridge that I conceived the thought of the present history.

surrounded by insignificant houses, was with S. Angelo after the middle of the century the property of the Orsini; and hence it was that Nicholas III. conceived the idea of making the Vatican his residence. In S. Angelo the Orsini commanded the entrance both to the Vatican and the city, where they ruled in the regions of Ponte and Parione on the other side of the bridge. Their palaces stood on Monte Giordano and in the ruins of the Theatre of Pompey on the Campo di Fiore. Monte Giordano, in the neighbourhood of S. Angelo, formed by accumulations from the ruins of earlier buildings, was known in 1286, when the Orsini already dwelt upon it, as *Monte Johannis de Roncionibus*, and soon after received its later name from Jordan Orsini. In 1334 we already find it surrounded by walls.[1] The other fortress of the Orsini on the Campo di Fiore, called Arpacata, was built from the gigantic ruins of the Theatre of Pompey. It has disappeared, but must have stood on the site of the present Palazzo Pio. A noble family thus owned, in addition to innumerable houses on both sides of the river,

Fortresses of the Orsini.

[1] On October 21, 1286, M. Rubeus Orsini sold *Castr. Castellucia* near Albano to his nephews: *Act. Rome in domib. in quib. tunc morabatur rev. pat. D. Jordanus S. Heustachii Diacon. Card. germ. fr. præf. D. Mathei Rubei . . . vid in Monte qui dicitur Johannis Roncionibus* (*Gætani Archives*, xlviii. n. 11). There stood also *S. Maria de Monte Joh. Ronzonis:* list of the Roman churches in Papencordt, p. 55. On May 20, 1334, Cardinal Nap. Orsini from Avignon sent orders to his vicar in Roman territory. We therein find: *Item habet D. Card. infra muros Montis domos suas principales —et ibidem alias parvas domos in diversis locis montis pred. infra muros ipsius montis* (*ibid.*, n. 18). The Monte (Giordano), which Dante also mentions in the passage concerning the Roman jubilee, bore at that time the aspect of an actual fortress.

three great fortresses, S. Angelo, the Monte, the Arpacata.

The Savelli already dwelt in another part of the same quarter, namely, where a street beside the palace of the Cancellaria is still called the Vicolo de' Savelli. They could not, however, attain power on account of the Orsini.

Towers of several families arose along the other side of the river as far as the Capitol in the regions of Ponte, Parione, Regola, and S. Angelo. The Massimi already dwelt on the spot now occupied by their beautiful palace; the Margani and Statii had built in the Circus Flaminius, the Bonfilii, Amateschi, Capizuchi, Boccapaduli, and Buccamaza dwelt in the adjacent quarters. The Pierleoni lived beside the Theatre of Marcellus; but the power of the family of Anaclete II. had so far declined in the thirteenth century, that their name scarcely appears in the history of the city. Their chief fortress in this theatre, "the house of the Pierleoni," fell into the hands of the Savelli, though not until the following century.

The huge Field of Mars offered, it is true, several ruins for the construction of fortresses, but, on account of its position, not adequate security. This quarter was exposed to inundations of the Tiber, was still thinly populated, was mainly planted with vegetable gardens, and was consequently but rarely the theatre of the civic feuds provoked by the Colonna. For this family ruled the whole of the deserted plain from the Porta del Popolo to the Quirinal, or that part of the city which had been so

magnificent under Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines.[1] The chief fortresses of the Colonna in the Field of Mars were the Mausoleum of Augustus and the Mons Acceptorii, the present Monte Citorio.[2] In the ruins of Domitian's Stadium the Millini and the Sanguigni built their still existing towers; the Sinibaldi and Crescenzii their fortified palaces in the quarter of the Pantheon. Fortresses of the Colonna.

The greatest fortresses of the patricians, however, stood within the ancient city, on the hills that sloped to the Forum and the Circus Maximus. This was the theatre of the city's history during the Middle Ages, since the popular commune had made its seat on the Capitol. The forsaken hills thereby received a new life, and, in spite of the want of water, became in part repopulated. The Frangipani ruled on the Cœlian and the Palatine, where, from their chief residence in the Lateran quarter, the Anibaldi already disputed with them the possession of the Colosseum. The amphitheatre, of which a considerable part had been destroyed in the earthquake of

[1] The Porta del Popolo, called *Sci. Valentini* even in the ninth century, already bore its present name. *Vineæ—extra portam Sce. Marie de Populo*, Document of January 12, 1293; *Cod. Vat.*, 8050, p. 79.

[2] A document of February 7, 1252, in Petrini, *Mem. di Palestrina*, says: *Fines ad Montem Acceptorium hii sunt: domus Romanuccior., et Synebaldor., ab alio dom. Macellarior., et dom. Cesarlinor., ab alio sunt Zarlonum, et Toderinor.* . . . The name (in Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*, p. 243, also *Mons Acceptabilis*) may be explained according to Fulvius: *citatorius a citandis tribubus, acceptorius ab acceptandis suffragiis, septorium a proximis Septis.* See Carlo Fontana, *discorso sopra l'antico Monte Citatorio*, Rome, 1694, p. 1. The site of the Septa in the neighbourhood of the present Piazza Colonna renders probable the explanation "*Septorius.*"

The Colosseum and the fortresses of the Frangipani.

June 1, 1231,[1] the Septizonium on the Palatine, the Turris Cartularia, the triumphal arches of Titus and Constantine, apparently also the Arcus Fabianus in the neighbourhood of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, the Janus Quadrifrons, and the towers beside the Circus Maximus formed the great Frangipani fortress, frequently the asylum of the popes, and the scene of their election. This fortress, which served as a defence to the most celebrated monuments of ancient Rome, with its black walls, battlements and towers, was assuredly the most original fortress in the world, and must have presented the most curious aspect.

The Palatine and its imperial buildings had fallen entirely to ruin or were only inhabited by monks, priests, and the servants of the Frangipani.[2] This world of ruins must have been very imposing, and a well informed antiquary might still have been able to distinguish the palaces of Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. The Palatine Stadium, which has only been excavated in our own days, must have been partly exposed at this time.[3] The

[1] *Et tunc de Colliseo concussus lapis ingens eversus est.* Rich. Sangerm., p. 1026. There was another earthquake, and probably fresh destruction, in September 1255 (William Nangis ; Duchesne, v. 362).

[2] In 1215 the Abbot of S. Gregorio cedes to *Paulo de Grisayco . . . duas cryptas—positas Rome in vocabulo Circli sub palatio majori nostri monasterii juris loco, qui dicitur vel dici solet porticus Materiani :* Mittarelli, *Anal. Camald.*, iv. n. ccix. The greater part of the Palatine consequently still belonged to this convent.

[3] The ancient writers are all silent concerning this Stadium : Guida del Palatino, 1873, p. 86 f.; H. de Glande, *Ecole fr. Mélanges*, 1889, p. 184 f.; J. Sturm, *D. Kaiserl. Stadium auf dem Palatin*, Würz-

Cœlian was more thickly populated than at present, since the ancient street Caput Africæ is mentioned in 1289; a proof that this hill was not, as has been supposed, already deserted owing to the devastations of Robert Guiscard.[1] The quarter round the Colosseum and as far as the Lateran was also populated to some extent here and there. And the book of ritual of Cencius, speaking of the distributions of money made to the people who had built the arches of honour, enumerates twenty-three families on the tract from the Torre Cartularia to S. Nicolò beside the Colosseum, among which were the Mancini, Rainucci, Bulgarelli, and Crassi. On the other hand, the population had decreased between the Lateran and the Colosseum, and from S. Clemente onwards to that spot not a single house is mentioned.[2]

The Aventine, inhabited as late as the days of Otto III., afterwards deserted, was occupied by the Savelli. They had long owned a palace here near S. Sabina; a part of which Honorius III. presented to the Dominicans for the erection of a convent. Honorius IV. converted this convent into a dwelling for himself, and surrounded it with walls and towers.

burg, 1888. [See, however, F. Marx, "Das sogen. Stadium auf dem Palatin" (*Jahrb. d. k. deutsch. arch. Instituts*, 1895, p. 129, and *Anzeiger*, p. 234).—TRANSL.]

[1] This street is spoken of as inhabited throughout a document of December 8, 1289: *domos de Viculo Capite Africe—Ecclesia S. Stephani de Capite Africe: Mscr. Vatican.*, 8050, p. 73, and Nic. Frangipani in Crescimbeni, *S. Giov. a. porta Latina*, p. 203 f., where the church of *S. Pastor* is also specified as *in capite Africæ*.

[2] *Ordo* of Cencius, p. 190. Although he says that many *nomina transacta sunt et termini sive signa mutata*, nevertheless this quarter was more thickly inhabited at his time than at present.

Fortress of the Savelli on the Aventine.

Huge remains of the Savelli fortress, in the style of building known as *saracinesco,* are still preserved. It remained the chief seat of the family, which afterwards also seized the Marmorata and the Theatre of Marcellus. The Marmorata still retained its name from the blocks of marble on the ancient Emporium, which was probably already buried deep in rubbish. Several churches stood along the river under the Aventine, and bore the surname *de Marmorata.*[1] Honorius IV. determined to repopulate the Aventine, and invited several Romans to build houses there. But owing to the lack of water the colony of the Savelli never prospered.[2]

The slopes of the Esquiline were more thickly populated, on account of the much-frequented churches that stood on the hill. Such was S. Maria Maggiore, beside which Nicholas IV. had founded a papal residence. The slopes of the Quirinal and the Suburra also remained thickly inhabited, while the Viminal was covered by vineyards and waste lands. The ruins of the distant Baths of Diocletian invited no noble family to build a fortress, neither did the gigantic but marshy Baths of Caracalla or the Prætorian Camp.[3]

[1] *S. Anastasii de Marmorata. S. Salvatoris de Mar. S. Anne de Mar. S. Nicolai de Mar.* List of the Roman churches during the exile at Avignon.

[2] *Totusque ille mons renovatur in ædificiis* (Ptol. Lucens., xxiv. c. 13).

[3] Beside the Baths of Caracalla was a marsh, which probably covered a part of the Circus Maximus—*Ortum et Pantanum juxta Palatium Antonianum:* Bull of Honorius III., A. 1217 (*Bullar. Vatican.*, i. 100).

Powerful families, on the other hand, occupied the slopes of the Quirinal and entrenched themselves in the neighbourhood of the ancient imperial forums. In the thirteenth century this territory was the battleground of the different factions. For there sat the Pandulfi of the Suburra, the Capocci, who had established themselves in the Baths of Trajan, and the Conti, while, in the neighbourhood of the fourth fortress of the Colonna, the original seat of the counts of Tusculum stood in the Baths of Constantine. The gigantic remains of the towers belonging to this period still exist on these slopes. While the other fortresses of the nobility have perished, the imposing ruins of the "Torre dei Conti" and the "Torre delle Milizie" have been preserved, and are as firm and indestructible as the buildings of ancient Rome, with which they formerly challenged comparison.

The Tower of the Counts (*Torre de' Conti*) recalls the period of the power of the family of Innocent III. It was built by the ambitious Richard Conti, with means provided by his brother, the pope, in the ancient Forum of Nerva, and hence was fought the struggle for the republican freedom of Rome.[1] The immense ruins of the Forums of Augustus, Nerva, and Cæsar were admirably adapted to the construction of a fortress, and the Conti transformed them into a citadel, as formidable to the Capitol as

The Torre de' Conti.

[1] Fulvius, Donatus, Visconti, and other Italians are in favour of the site being that of the Forum of Nerva. Bunsen has no convincing grounds for asserting that the tower stood on the site of the temple of *Venus Genitrix*. *Stadtbeschr.*, iii. 2, p. 146.

to the towers of the Frangipani. The building of this huge tower was accomplished in the early years of the reign of Innocent III. There is nothing to show that it had already stood for centuries and was merely enlarged by the Conti.[1] Its base was formed of blocks of tufa taken from the ruins of antiquity, its walls of bricks. Of quadrangular form and resting on a massive base, built in three stories, gradually diminishing as it rose, and surrounded by a triple row of pointed battlements, it seemed to pierce the clouds. It was considered the finest of all the towers of the city and a marvel of building. It was, however, by no means distinguished by architectural beauty, but was solely remarkable by reason of its colossal size. Petrarch, who saw it before it was injured by an earthquake, bewailed its fall, exclaiming that there was nothing to equal it in the world.[2] It was consequently unrivalled even by

[1] Ptol. Luc. (Murat., xi. 1276); in *Hist. Eccl.*, xxi. c. 16, he says of Innocent III.: *quod in Urbe fecerat ad sui tuitionem, Turris Comitum.* According to Ricobald (Murat., ix. 126), he built *sumptibus ecclesiæ.—Opus tanto Pont. inutile, non sine ipsius infamia constructum:* Bonincontr., p. 288. Bartol. della Pugliola (Murat., xviii. 248) states that it was erected in 1203. Fea, *Sulle rovine*, p. 365, gives an abstract of the accounts in favour of this year. Hurter asserts without any authority that Crescentius (in the beginning of the eleventh century) was called de Turre Romanor. from this tower. *Torre* was a Sabine fortress of the Crescentii; see Galletti, *Gabio antica.*

[2] It is drawn in the mediæval plan of the city in the *Cod. Vat.*, 1960, as *Turris Comitum.* Bonincontrius: *Turrim miræ altitudinis. Turris mirabilis*, Ricobald. *Singularis in orbe*, Ptol. Luc., p. 1266. It was called the "Tower of the City." Will of John Conti of May 3, 1226: *præcipio—reparari—domos Montis Balnei Neapolis, et domos et turrim Urbis.* In Contatori, *Geneal. Comitum*, p. 5: *Turris illa*

the celebrated Trouillas, which John XXII., like Nimrod the terrible builder of towers (as Petrarch called him in derision), had erected beside the palace of Avignon. It survived many an assault, even the earthquake of 1348 only destroyed the top storey; and in the fifteenth century Benozzo Gozzoli painted a picture over the entrance. Urban VIII., however, caused it to be demolished, leaving only the fragment which remains to the present day.[1]

The Torre delle Milizie.

Its twin brother was the Tower of the Militia (*Torre delle Milizie*), which was even more imposing on account of its lofty position. The traveller to Rome still gazes on it with surprise from Monte Pincio, or from the monastery of Ara Cœli, whence it is best seen towering over the city—the mightiest ruin of the Middle Ages, the most expressive witness of the period of Guelfs and Ghibellines in Rome. The populace, or the imagination of pilgrims, beheld in it the palace of Octavian, and the legend was afterwards invented that Nero, while playing on the lyre, had gazed from its summit on the burning of Rome. People recalled the fact that the gardens of

toto orbe unica quæ Comitis dicebatur ingentibus ruinis laxata dissiluit: Petrarch, *ad Socratem, Rer. Famil.*, xi. ep. 7.

[1] Vasari, iv. 186. He speaks (i. 243) without any proof of the builder as Marchione of Arezzo. Valesius devoted a treatise to this tower; Letter to Baron Stosch, in Calogera, t. 28. An inscription on the wall of the tower belonging to the time of Peter de Comite, who apparently calls himself an adherent of Nicholas IV. (1288 to 1292), says:—

Hæc domus est Petri valde devota Nicholæ
Strenuus ille miles, fidus, fortissimus atque;
Cernite, qui vultis secus hanc transire Quirites:
Quam fortis intus composita foris
Est unquam nullus vobis qui dicere possit.

Mæcenas and the house of Virgil, poet and enchanter, were situated in this neighbourhood.[1] The tower stands on the slope of the Quirinal over the Forum of Trajan, where is also the well-known site of the Balnea Neapolis (*Magna napoli*). This quarter, which was known in the Middle Ages as Biberatica, stretched from the Quirinal across Magnanapoli to the Forum of Trajan and SS. Apostoli.[2] The tower itself gave the name *Contrata Miliciarum* to a street. The date of its building is uncertain; its style, however, and its masonry, which resembles that of the similar Torre de' Conti, seem to belong to the time of Innocent III. or Gregory IX., and a tower of much earlier date had probably previously occupied the same spot. From a broad and lofty base rose a colossal square construction with battlements; a second building which gradually diminished upwards towered from the substructure. This was likewise square and articulated by massive pilasters. Finally from its battlemented platform rose a tower that also tapered and was flat and square at the top. The whole was united with a crenelated enceinte, thus forming a complete stronghold.[3] Since a place on

[1] Villani, viii. c. 6, says of Boniface VIII.: *comperò il castello delle milizie di Roma, che fu il palazzo d'Octaviano imperadore.* It was originally a higher remnant of a building of Aurelian on the Quirinal, called *La Mesa*, which was known as the "Tower of Nero."

[2] *Biberatica*, occasionally also *Viperatica*. The latter name is perhaps the right one, and may have been derived from some effigy of a serpent. Adinolfi, *Roma nell' età di mezzo*, ii. 12, endeavours to trace it from the word "*bere*," on account of the numerous fountains in the neighbourhood. This, however, is merely a conceit.

[3] The form of the "*Milicie*" in the plan of the city, *Cod. Vat.*, 1960. The colossal tower is depicted very plainly, as described in the

the Quirinal (where the tower now stands in the precincts of the nunnery S. Catherine of Siena) was called *Miliciæ Tiberianæ* as early as the twelfth century, it would appear that it had been erected on an ancient monument, which was perhaps a military station in imperial times.[1] The tower belonged in the latter half of the thirteenth century to the Anibaldi, from whom it passed to the Gætani. Its possession was held of such importance, that its owners derived their titles from it as from a barony. Peter, nephew of Boniface VIII., who bought it from Richard Anibaldi in 1301, called himself from that time *Dominus Miliciarum Urbis*, master of the civic militia, and with the tower apparently received the right of keeping military forces in this great city-fortress.[2]

text, in a view of Rome painted by Cimabue in his picture of the Evangelist Mark in Assisi, which bears the inscription *Italia*. Joseph Strygowski discovered this view: Plate IV. of his work, *Cimabue und Rom*, Vienna, 1888. The two towers are not seen on the relief of Rome given on the bulla of Lewis the Bavarian; on the other hand, the plans of the city of the fifteenth century, which reproduce a more ancient form of the city, represent the *milicie* and the *palatium milicie* beside it.

[1] *Ascendens per montem circa militias Tiberianas. Ordo XI.*, Mabillon, p. 143. In his will of May 3, 1266, where John Conti orders houses to be restored on the *Mons balnei Neapolis* and the *turrim urbis*, the Torre delle Milizie is not mentioned, as it probably would have been if it had belonged to the Conti at the time. It may not even have been built. On September 30, 1271, *Crescentius Leonis Johis* dates his will: *in Urbe apud militiam præd. testatoris* (Mittarelli, vi. n. 127); I consequently infer that *militia* at that time signified fortress.

[2] Peter was called Lord of the Milizie in 1301 for the first time. On April 13 he bought houses from Frederigotius, who had been sentenced as a heretic, *in Reg. Biveratice in Contrata militiar. juxta*

These two towers are monuments of the Roman Middle Ages, as the columns of the Emperors Trajan and Antonine are memorials of imperial Rome—characteristic features of the city, which more clearly than history express the indomitable energy of the century. As they stood completed within a short interval of each other, they must have caused a profound impression. They towered over the whole of Rome and were visible for miles, as is the dome of S. Peter's at the present day. These colossal towers, however, formed the most decisive witness to the Roman genius, which remained the same in the Middle Ages as it had been in antiquity. No sense of form, no capacity to give animation to great masses of building, such as was shown by the Tuscans, is seen here; nothing but gloomy and majestic strength. The Romans took as models the ruins of their forefathers, they determined to create colossal buildings that would rival the earlier structures, and the two towers rose over Rome with bare and precipitous walls—the Cyclopean works of the Middle Ages.

domos Militiar. præd. D. Petri (*Gætani Archives*, 37, n. 31). On November 23, 1301, Richard Anibaldi *quond. dictus de Militia*—Peter *Dom. Casertanus*, *Dom. Militiar. Urbis* (48, n. 76). On November 30, 1301, treaty between Peter and Francis Frajapane : *Act. Rome in domib. Militiar* (Theiner, i. 560). The Gætani also claimed the tower against Henry VII. In 1312 the emperor declared : *palatia militiar.*, *que intelleximus spectare de jure ad D. Franc. Gætanum Card.* (Theiner, i. n. 628). On August 22, 1322, Peter, son of Benedict Gætani, Count-Palatine, bequeathed as follows : *item legamus . . . Bonifacio* (his son) *omnia jura nostra comitatus Alibrandesi et milicias urbis* (*Colonna Archives*, xiii. scaf. v. n. xi.).

The series of the fortresses of the nobility contains the names of all the great families of the Rome of that period; none is absent save those of most recent creation in the thirteenth century. The Gætani had palaces on the island in the Tiber and in the quarter of S. Maria Maggiore, but no hereditary fortress in Rome. At the same time, however, that they became owners of the "Milizie," they fortified the remarkable remains of the Capo di Bove, outside the Porta Sebastiana on the Appian Way. This fortress preserved the name of the tomb of Cecilia Metella, its centre and nucleus, but the magnificent mausoleum of the daughter of Metellus Creticus and the wife of Crassus was called, in the early Middle Ages, Capo di Bove from the heads of bulls on its cornice.[1] Like the tombs of Augustus and Hadrian, and the tomb of the Plautii on the Lucanian bridge over the Anio, it was probably at an early date transformed into a baronial tower. The desertion of the Appian Way allowed it to remain in oblivion until the war against the Colonnas afforded Boniface VIII. the opportunity of making it over to his nephew. Count Peter here constructed a stronghold, in order to watch the movements of the Colonna, in case they left their fortresses on the Campagna and

The fortress of Capo di Bove

[1] In a document from Subiaco of the year 953, Rosa, daughter of Theophylact, sold *filum saline quod ponitur in Burdunaria in pedica quæ vocatur Capite bove* (Galletti, *Del Prim.*, p. 204). Undoubtedly the *Capo di Bove* on the Via Appia cannot be intended here. Nibby wrongly refers to it the name *Ta canetricapita* in a diploma of the year 850 (*Ibid.*, p. 187). This monument, as Marini conjectures, may have been so called from a relief of Cerberus.

approached by the Latin or Appian Way.[1] The remains of this fortress, which was soon after enlarged by the Savelli, and to which the adjacent ruins of the Circus of Maxentius lent additional strength, still remain erect, as do even those of the ancient baronial palace, and of a walled burgh which arose there in the fourteenth century, with a Gothic church. On the buildings, which are constructed of tufa from Albano, we may still discover the arms of the Gætani. The dark colour of the material and the poverty of the architecture form a harsh contrast to the majesty of the ancient mausoleum of yellow travertine, over the cornice of which are placed the tufa stones, which serve to transform the mausoleum into a battlemented tower. The interior of the tomb was not further injured; the sarcophagus of Cecilia Metella remained untouched while the storms of a hundred sieges passed over its head, and it was left to Paul III. to have the urn removed to the Palazzo Farnese, where it now stands.

We may easily imagine the ravages which, in order to procure material, must have been committed by the builders of the Gætani fortress both on the Circus of Maxentius and the monuments of the Via Appia. The ancient streets of tombs, which had been sacked for centuries, endured one of its severest devastations.[2] Shepherds and *coloni* dwelt in the

[1] Ferret. Vicent., Murat., ix. 1107, says: *Capitis Bovis mœnia quod oppidum Bonifacius VIII. construi fecerat.*

[2] The ruins on the Via Appia called *Roma Vecchia*, the name given to a medley of ancient villas and mediæval casali, still show baronial fortifications; they were probably also utilised by the Gætani or Savelli, of whom the latter family took possession of the

ancient graves on the Campagna ; and on the whole of the Ager Romanus, the outskirts of the city, arose countless towers, constructed in part from the ancient sepulchral monuments, temples, and remains of villas, in part new, and erected for the defence of the thinly scattered agriculturists. Even now many *tenuti*, or estates in the province of Rome, bear the names of mediæval towers.[1]

Menaced by the adjacent fortresses of the nobility, stood on the Capitol the Senate House, the seat of the republic. Here dwelt the senators, although, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the convent palace of the Quattro Coronati occasionally served as their abode. But when Charles of Anjou and the Infante of Castile made this palace their residence, their prosenators lived on the Capitol, as did likewise the other senators who were not princes. The fact that solemn acts of state were executed in the monastery of Ara Cœli in Angevin times, shows that the Senate House of those days did not afford sufficient room, while the fortified monastery was of great extent and also served as a place of meeting for the civic college of judges. It was the Palatium Octaviani of legend, and, at the same time, the seat

The Capitol.

Capo di Bove after the death of Boniface VIII. I found no document relating to the building of this fortress in the Gætani Archives ; but since it belonged to the Savelli in the time of Henry VII., and soon afterwards came into the hands of the Colonna, its foundation by the Gætani must belong to the reign of Boniface VIII.

[1] *Torraccio*, *Torricola*, *Torricella*, *Tor Bella Monaca*, *Tor de' Cenci*, *Tor de' Sordi*, *Tor del Vescovo*, *Torrimpietra*, *Tor Marancia*, *Torpagnotta*, *Tor Pignatarra*, *Torre Rossa*, *Tor Tre Teste*, *Tor vergata*. Nicolai, *Memorie—sulle Campagne e sull' annona di Roma*, Rome, 1803.

of the general of the Franciscans since 1250, and the building towering over the steep tufa walls of the Capitol still remains one of the most imposing monuments of the Middle Ages in Rome.[1]

The first form of the palace of the Senate in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is only obscurely recognisable. It appears, in the plan of the city of the time of Innocent III., as a square, with battlements and a flanking tower. The façade displays only two bow-windows and an entrance door without steps; the drawing, however, is very rough and also inaccurate.[2] About 1299, probably with a view to the jubilee, the palace was rebuilt in the senatorship of Peter de Stefano and Andrea de' Normanni. These men built an open hall resting on columns, destined for the sittings of the courts of justice. It received the name of Lovium, which had been in use from Lombard times and which denoted a *Porticus* (Laube). The inscription of these senators is still preserved in copies.[3] With this hall, which lent a different aspect

[1] In 1885, in order to make room for the monument to Victor Emmanuel, the Romans unfortunately began the destruction of this monastery of a thousand years.

[2] *Cod. Vat.*, 1960, in de Rossi, *Piante icnogr.*, Tav. i.

[3] *Anno D.M.CC.LXXXXVI[III]. Ind. XIII. m. Sept. temp. S. D. Bonifacii P. VIII. Magnifici viri d. Petrus Stephani et Andreas Romani de reg. Transtiberim senatores urbis perfecimus istud lovium de fructibus camere Urbis.*

Roma, senatores, mandat, si vultis honores,
Hæc custodiri: se fertilitate potiri
Justitia læta sit plebs et pace quieta
Supplicio dignos cunctos punite malignos
Dignaq. maiores compescat pœna minores.
Sit vobis cura cameræ defendere iura.
Et pupillorum defensoresque domorum.

to the entire palace, other buildings were connected. An inscription of the year 1300 speaks of an *Opus marmoreum* which had been added by the Senators Richard Anibaldi and Gentile Orsini.[1] An outside staircase leading into the palace was undoubtedly added. This staircase is represented on the gold bulla of Lewis the Bavarian about 1328, when the palace of the Senators—and this is characteristic of its importance and of the ideas of the time—occupies the central place in the panorama of the city, as a building flanked by two towers, with two stories, no longer crenelated but covered with a roof. The lower story has only two bow-windows; and the upper four are placed so close together as to resemble a portico extending along the façade.[2] After 1299

Sitis sacrarum sic pauperis et viduarum.
Partibus auditis vos respondere velitis
Lites finite cito sed descernite rite.
Scripta super quæ sunt fecerunt qui modo præsunt
Omnipotens quare deus hos semper tueare.
Transtiberim gaude quia cives sunt tibi laude
Hi duo solemni digni famaq. perenni
D. Lambertus Gætanus de Pisis erat tunc
Iudex et conservator cameræ Urbis.

The inscription is given by Forcella, *Iscriz.*, i. p. 25, n. 3, and is emended by de Rossi, "La Loggia Del Comune di Roma compinta nel Campidoglio dai Senatori dell' a. 1299" (*Bull. d. Com. Arch. Com.*, 1882, x. 136 f.). In this treatise de Rossi has spoken exhaustively of the term *lovium*, for so the word in the inscription must be written, and not *loicum*, as in the copy of Valesius, reproduced by Forcella.

[1] Forcella, *Iscr.*, i. p. 26, n. 5. . . . *Hoc opus marmoreum addiderunt d. D.MCCC.*

[2] De Rossi observes that the Lovium of the year 1299 is not recognisable on any known plan of the city. He tries to find it in the lowest story, as does Camillo Re in his remarkable treatise on the Capitol in the fourteenth century.

and 1300 the palace of the Senate may be regarded as a new building, and appears as *palatium novum* in a paper of the Senate of the year 1303.[1] This altered building must undoubtedly have given occasion to a fresh sack of the ruins of the Capitol.

The Romans evidently vied with the republics of Umbria and Tuscany, where Perugia and Siena, Florence and Orvieto erected not only cathedrals but also magnificent communal palaces. The construction of the most celebrated town halls was accomplished at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century.[2] The Palazzo Vecchio was erected in Florence in 1298, and the building of the cathedrals of Orvieto, Florence, Bologna, and Perugia dates from the end of the thirteenth century. The still existing municipal palaces of Italy, in the architecture of which Romanesque Gothic is seen at its best, are among the finest monuments of the Middle Ages, and testify to the power and prosperity of the free cities. Rome could not compete with such buildings. Even many of the fortresses of the nobles were more sumptuous than the communal palace with its curious trophies of chains, doors, and bells of insignificant conquered places, or with the remains of the Carroccio of Milan. The palace of the Roman Senate was a marvellous building, half-ancient, half-barbarous ; its proudest ornament was

[1] In the Archives of S. Spirito I found a motion of the Senator Guido de Pileo of April 17, 1303 . . . *lata in palatio nuovo Capitolii.*

[2] The first mention known to me of an Italian town hall is that of Padua, as early as 1218. *Eo tempore inceptum fuit Palatium magnum communis Paduæ* (Murat. *Ant.*, iv., *Chron. Patavinum*).

that it rested on the monuments of ancient Rome, and was surrounded by ruins of the splendour of the Capitol, which formerly ruled the world. The lion served at the time as the symbol of the Roman republic; and a live lion was kept in a cage on the Capitol. Over a door of the palace a lion was represented looking tenderly upon its young. Every senator was conducted to this effigy on his entrance into office, to ponder the lines, which inculcated magnanimity, inscribed beside it.[1]

In the highest degree important for the topographical knowledge of Rome in the thirteenth century is the fact, that to this period belongs the first plan of the city preserved to us—a rude drawing, but valuable as attempting to represent the city of Innocent III. The chief features of Rome, ancient as well as Christian, are portrayed, and the representation and designation of these monuments are evidently based on the *Mirabilia*.[2] A marginal note on the plan contains the following lament: "Rome has seen her ashes under Duke Brennus, and her burning under

[1] *Iratus recole quod nobilis ira leonis*
In sibi prostratos se negat esse feram.

From Signorili's collection of inscriptions in de Rossi, *Le prime raccolte . . .* p. 99, and Forcella, *Iscr.*, i. p. 26.

[2] The plan already mentioned, a copy in the *Cod. Vatican.*, 1960, was first imperfectly published by Höfler (*Die deutsch Papste*, pp. 324–326), and afterwards by de Rossi (*Piante icnografiche e prospettiche di Roma, anteriori al sec. XVI.*, Rome, 1877; see his commentary on it, c. xiv.). Another copy of this plan, belonging to *sæc.* xiv., is to be found in the *Cod. Latin.* of the Marciana library, fol. cccxlix. The plan of the city which follows next on this is the symbolical one displayed on a gold bulla of Lewis the Bavarian of the year 1328.

Alaric and the younger son of King Galaon of Britain. She mourns the daily destruction of her ruins. Like a decrepit old man she can scarcely support herself by a foreign staff. Her old age is not venerable for aught else than her accumulations of ancient stones and the ruinous traces of the past. At the time when Rome was destroyed by Totila, S. Benedict, Bishop of Canusia, said, 'Rome will not be destroyed by the nations, but, shaken by weather, lightning, hurricanes, and earthquakes, will moulder to decay!'"[1]

[1] *Successivos atque cotidianos ruinarum destructus deplorat, et more senis decrepiti vix potest alieno baculo sustentari: nil habens honorabilis vetustatis præter antiquatam lapidam congeriem et vestigia ruinosa.* The note is of the same date as the plan; it is written in the characters of the thirteenth century.

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